

**CLARIFYING
BAFFLING
BIBLICAL
PASSAGES**

BY

THOMAS F. McDANIEL, Ph.D.

©

Thomas F. McDaniel
2002
All rights reserved

PREFACE

Two of the most baffling biblical passages, a fragment from the “Book of the Wars of Yahweh” in Num 21:15 and the “Song of Deborah” in Jud 5:1–31, can now be read with clarity thanks to philological tools readily available to interpreters of the Hebrew text.¹ Nine of the sixteen words making up the “Book of the Wars of Yahweh” fragment were misunderstood by the later scribes and/or lexicographers. Similarly, of the three hundred eighty-four words in the original “Song of Deborah,” sixty-eight of them went unrecognized in exegetical tradition. Now all the words in these two poetic texts have been recognized. It is only a matter of time before the recovered words—a number of which were noted in the Hebrew lexicons of earlier centuries—will be included in the standard Hebrew lexicons of the twenty-first century.

The philological methodology employed in clarifying the enigmas of the “Song of Deborah” and the “Book of the Wars of Yahweh,” when used to interpret other enigmatic texts in Biblical Hebrew—or even Greek texts having had a Hebrew *Vorlage*—has proven to be very useful. The thirty-five chapters of this volume are a demonstration of its benefits.

¹ See T. F. McDaniel, *The Song of Deborah. Poetry in Dialect: A Philological Study of Judges 5 with Translation and Commentary*, available at <http://tmcdaniel.palmerseminary.edu/Deborah.pdf>. The first edition, *Deborah Never Sang: A Philological Study of the Song of Deborah [Judges V]*, was published in 1983 (Jerusalem: Makor Publishing Ltd.)

Through a judicious use of Semitic cognates it is possible to reconstruct the *Vorlage* of the most baffling biblical texts and to enlarge the lexicon of Biblical Hebrew with words from non-Judean dialects, as well as rare words in the Judean dialect. Whereas it was once common for biblical scholars to emend freely any text which did not conform to the lexicons, it now seems wiser to modify the lexicons— informed by cognates—to accommodate the texts. The cautious emendation of the Hebrew text remains a necessary option, but restoring and expanding the entries in standard Hebrew lexicons is far more essential to clarify the meaning of most baffling biblical passages.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my appreciation to Chaplain (Brigadier General) Parker Thompson (U.S. Army, retired), who—as pastor of the Round Hill Baptist Church (Virginia), and the North Fork Baptist Church (Virginia)—invited me to participate in a seminar held annually the last week of June for members of the above and neighboring congregations who have been studying Koine Greek and Biblical Hebrew with him over the years. For more than ten years, I have met with the seminar for five evening sessions to address problems in biblical interpretation. Some of the studies in this book were prepared for those seminars; and a number of them are my response to questions raised by seminar participants. Mrs. Elizabeth Oscanyan, a seminar participant, graciously proofread a draft of this manuscript. Thanks to her effort, many typographical errors were caught, and her suggestions about the organization of the manuscript were adopted.

Dr. Robert R. Wright of the Department of Religion of Temple University, Philadelphia, Dr. James T. McDonough, Jr., who was for years Professor of Classics at Saint Joseph's University, Philadelphia, and my friend Mr. Gilad Gevaryahu have been consulted on a number of issues and they have made suggestions which have enriched the content of these studies. Mr. Gevaryahu (son of the noted Israeli Biblical scholar Dr. Haim M. I. Gevaryahu) is a Biblical and Talmudic scholar in his own right. He checked my Hebrew citations and assisted me with rabbinic sources and traditions, providing me with texts and translations for the rabbinic quotations in Chapters VI, XIII, and XXXII. His questions and insights led me to investigate anew the issues addressed in those chapters.

I wish to recognize also my colleagues in Biblical Studies at The Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Dr. Manfred Brauch, Dr. Glenn Koch, and Dr. Craig Keener, for their support and encouragement over my thirty-two years on the seminary faculty.

Narberth, Pennsylvania
January, 2003

ABBREVIATIONS

A-text	Codex Alexandrinus
AB	Anchor Bible, New York
ABD	<i>The Anchor Bible Dictionary</i>
AJSL	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature</i> , Chicago
AnBib	Analecta Biblica, Rome
AOS	American Oriental Society, New Haven
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch, Göttingen
AV	Authorized Version of the Bible, 1611 (same as KJV, 1611)
B-text	Codex Vaticanus
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i> , Philadelphia
BCTP	A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching
BDB	F. Brown, S. R. Driver, C. A. Briggs, <i>Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> , New York
BH ³	R. Kittel, <i>Biblica Hebraica</i> , third edition, Stuttgart, 1937
BHS	<i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i>
BibOr	Biblica et Orientalia, Rome
BR	<i>Bible Review</i>
BSC	Bible Student's Commentary
BibT	<i>Bible Today</i>
BTal	<i>Bet Talmud</i>
CAD	I. Gelb, L. Oppenheim, et al., eds., <i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i>
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i> , Washington, D. C.
CTM	<i>Concordia Theological Monthly</i>
CV	<i>Communio Viatorum</i>
DR	<i>Downside Review</i>
EBC	The Expository Bible Commentary
ET	<i>Expository Times</i>
GKC	<i>Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar</i> , ed. E. Kautzsch, tr. A. E. Cowley, Oxford
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament, Tübingen
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i> , Cambridge, Massachusetts
IBCTP	Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching
ICC	International Critical Commentary, Edinburgh
IDB	<i>The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i>
IVPNTC	IVP New Testament Commentary Series
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i> , New Haven, Boston

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i> , Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and Missoula, Montana
<i>JBS</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Storytelling</i>
<i>JETS</i>	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
<i>JPSTC</i>	Jewish Publication Society Torah Commentary
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i> , Philadelphia
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i> , Sheffield
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i> , Oxford
<i>KJV</i>	King James Version of the Bible (same as the AV, 1611)
<i>LTSB</i>	<i>Lutheran Theological Seminary Bulletin</i>
<i>LXX</i>	Septuagint
<i>MBC</i>	Mellon Biblical Commentary
<i>MT</i>	Masoretic Text
<i>NCB</i>	New Century Bible
<i>NITGTC</i>	The New International Greek Testament Commentary
<i>NRSV</i>	New Revised Standard Version of the Bible, New York, 1992
<i>NTL</i>	New Testament Library
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>OTL</i>	Old Testament Library, Philadelphia and London
<i>PEFQS</i>	<i>Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement</i>
<i>PEQ</i>	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i> , London
<i>RSV</i>	Revised Standard Version of the Bible, London and New York, 1952
<i>SC</i>	The Speakers Commentary
<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i>
<i>TDOT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i>
<i>USQR</i>	<i>Union Seminary Quarterly Review</i>
<i>UT</i>	C. H. Gordon, <i>Ugaritic Textbook</i> , Rome
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i> , Leiden
<i>VTSup</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum Supplements</i> , Leiden
<i>WTJ</i>	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i> , Philadelphia
<i>ZAH</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Althebraistik</i>
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i> , Gießen and Berlin
<i>ZNT</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für neuen testamentlische Wissenschaft</i>

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE	iii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iv
ABBREVIATIONS	v
INTRODUCTION	xii
CHAPTERS I–XXXVI	
I. REPTILE RATIONS: GENESIS 3:14 AND ISAIAH 65:25	1
II. “HE SHALL BE LIKE YOU”: GENESIS 3:16	12
III. ISHMAEL A PEACE MAKER: GENESIS 16:10–12	18
IV. THE MEANING OF ABRAM AND ABRAHAM: GENESIS 17:5	31
V. THE INVIOABLE RELATIONSHIP OF MOSES AND ZIPPORAH: EXODUS 4:24-26	36
VI. ENDING THE ENIGMA OF AZAZEL: LEVITICUS 16: 8, 10, 26	47
VII. “MOSES WAS MADE TO DESPAIR”: NUMBERS 12:3	58
VIII. REMOVING THE TENSION BETWEEN DEUTERONOMY 15:4 AND 15:11	64
IX. THE REHAB OF RAHAB: JOSHUA 2:1, 6:17, 6:25	72
X. THE CALL FOR A ‘BLACKOUT’ AND THE SOLAR ECLIPSE IN JOSHUA 10:7–15	81

TABLE OF CONTENTS

XI. HULDAH: THE GUARDIAN OF TRADITION II KINGS 22:14 AND II CHRONICLES 34:22	105
XII. THE GOOD SAMARITAN NAMED <i>ODED</i> IN II CHRONICLES 28: 5–15	115
XIII. THE MEANINGS OF <i>KARPAS</i> : MULTI-COLORED, COTTON, AND CELERY	116
XIV. “ADORE WITHOUT RESTRAINT, WORSHIP WITH FIDELITY”: PSALM 2:11–12	120
XV. “SURELY THERE IS A GOD!” PROVERBS 30:1–5	125
XVI. RECOVERY OF RARE WORDS IN ECCLESIASTES 7:26–28	137
XVII. ARABIC COGNATES WHICH CLARIFY THE SONG OF SONGS 1:3	143
XVIII. THE EXCITED STALLIONS OF JEREMIAH 5:8	151
XIX. THE FEMALE ENAMORS THE MALE: JEREMIAH 31:21–22	158
XX. EZEKIEL WENT “FLYING OFF IN CIRCLES OF WIND”: EZEKIEL 3:14	187
XXI. EZEKIEL’S CRITICISM OF THE TRIAGE IN JERUSALEM: EZEKIEL 13:17	190
XXII. THE KING OF TYRE IN EZEKIEL 28	205
XXIII. NO MOON OF BLOOD IN JOEL 2:31 (HEBREW 3:4)	216
XXIV. AMBIGUITIES IN AMOS’ RÉSUMÉ: AMOS 1:1 AND 7:4	221

TABLE OF CONTENTS

XXV. THE MOBILE SHRINE IN ZECHARIAH 5:5–11	231
XXVI. THE SETTING STAR IN MATTHEW 2:9	239
XXVII. WHAT NOT TO DO WITH A LAMP	244
XXVIII. A REAPPRAISAL OF THE “PEARLS” IN MATTHEW 7:6	252
XXIX. WHO SHOULD BURY THEIR DEAD MATTHEW 8:22b	288
XXX.. “I HAVE NOT COME TO BRING THE END”: MATTHEW 10:34–36	299
XXXI. THE MISREADING WHICH LED TO THE “HATE” IN LUKE 14:26–27	316
XXXII. THE MEANING OF “MARY,” “MAGDALENE,” AND OTHER NAMES: LUKE 8:2	334
XXXIII. “DO YOU LOVE ME MORE THAN KITH-AND AND KIN?”: JOHN 21:15–17	359
XXXIV. “STABBED ALONG THE INLETS OF EGYPT”: PSALMS OF SOLOMON 2:26–27	375
XXXV. ARABIC COGNATES WHICH CLARIFY THE MEANING OF “HASMONEAN,” “THE SEEKERS OF FLATTERY” AND “THRACIDA”	391
XXXVI. SUMMARY	402
BIBLIOGRAPHY	411
INDICES	439
I. AUTHORS AND LEXICA	439
II. BIBLICAL NAMES	444

TABLE OF CONTENTS

III. OTHER NAMES	446
IV. GRAMMATICAL TERMS	448
V. LANGUAGES	
AKKADIAN, SUMERIAN, HURRIAN	449
ARABIC	450
ARAMAIC	456
COPTIC	457
EGYPTIAN	457
ETHIOPIC	457
GREEK	457
HEBREW	460
LATIN	469
SYRIAC	469
UGARITIC	469
VI. BIBLICAL REFERENCES	470
VII. NON-CANONICAL TEXTS	479

INTRODUCTION

In the thirty-five chapters of this study nine emendations are proposed which involve the confusion of a ‘ and a ’ or the confusion of a **ח**(=ב) and a **ח**(=ד), or the like. More serious scribal problems were encountered in Ezekiel 13 and 28, requiring the rearrangement of many verses and/or words or phrases within each chapter, similar to the proposed rearrangement of verses in Judges 5 (see note 1, above) and in Zechariah 3–4 (see Chapter XXII, below).

In comparison to the nine proposed emendations in the fifty-five verses which are the foci in the following chapters, fifty-five Hebrew words rarely appearing in the extant Hebrew literature—and consequently not cited in the current Hebrew lexicons—have been recovered. In addition, nineteen nuances of words currently in our Hebrew lexicons need to be added to the recognized definitions. Fifty-eight of these rediscovered words or nuances have well attested Arabic cognates.

James Barr (1968), in *Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament*, included an “Index of Examples” (pages 320–337) in which he cited three hundred-thirty-four selected philological proposals made by numerous scholars. Of these proposals one hundred sixty-five were based upon Arabic cognates. John Kaltner (1996), in *The Use of Arabic in Biblical Hebrew Lexicography*, provided another list (pages 119–120) of sixty Arabic cognates to which other scholars have appealed in order to clarify baffling biblical passages. The seventy plus proposed definitions of Hebrew words made in the following chapters in this study should be added to the lists cited by Barr and Kaltner and become candidates for inclusion in subsequent ventures in Hebrew lexicography.

INTRODUCTION

The baffling biblical passages needing clarification start in *Chapter I* with Gen 3:14 and Isa 65:25, which deal with the serpent’s being cursed to eat *dust*. But it is common knowledge that serpents, snakes, and reptiles are carnivores—which makes the curse meaningless. However, the Hebrew עֵפֶר, which can mean “dust,” is a homograph of several other words which, according to their Arabic cognates, realistically correspond to the staple of a serpent’s diet. By enlarging the lexicon of Biblical Hebrew to include עֵפֶר “small animal” and עֵפֶר “small herbage,” the cognates of the Arabic غَفَر (*gifar*) and غَفَر (*gafar*), the curse of Gen 3:14 corresponds to reality; and Isa 65:25 envisions that time when reptiles will become herbivores.

The roots of Eph 5:22 “wives, be subject to your husbands” go back to Gen 3:16, “your desire shall be for your husband and *he shall rule over you* (יְמַשֵּׁל־בָּךְ).” However, Hebrew מַשֵּׁל, which is discussed in *Chapter II*, is a homograph of two verbs, one meaning “to be similar” and one meaning “to rule.” The traditions about men “ruling over” women may reflect a gender-biased selection of the lexical options made by male interpreters, rather than an unbiased effort to reflect the intention of the author of the Eden narrative who wrote about the sorrow that would come equally/similarly to Adam and Eve.

In *Chapter III*, the disparaging announcement to Hagar in Gen 16:10–12 that Ishmael would be a פֶּרֶא אֲדֹם “wild ass of a man” is scrutinized, and a number of alternative translations of פֶּרֶא and אֲדֹם are proposed which transform the text into a multi-layered laudatory affirmation of Ishmael.

INTRODUCTION

The name change of Abram to Abraham is the focus of *Chapter IV*. Three meanings of *Abram* are cited, followed by two distinctive definitions of *Abraham*—with an element of truth in all five definitions as they relate to the patriarch. A closing comment deals with the change of *Sarai*'s name to *Sarah* which makes *Sarah* a parallel of *Abraham*, both of which refer to their offspring becoming numerous.

The assertion in Exo 4:24 that God wanted to kill Moses on the first night of his return to Egypt to lead the Hebrews out of bondage is examined in *Chapter V*. Traditional interpretations are reviewed but they are of little benefit. Clarification comes only by recognizing the verb **המִתָּחוּ** is a homograph which can mean (1) “to make him die,” or (2) “to bond a relationship with him.” Unfortunately, tradition settled on the first of these definitions and ignored the second. Similarly, **שָׁרֵךְ וַיַּרְא** is a homograph of verbs meaning (1) “to withdrew” or (2) “to become bonded in marriage, to be united in purpose.” This second definition has been missed by commentators and Hebrew lexicographers. Once the second definition of these two homographs comes into focus, contextually appropriate statements emerge, and the baffling statements disappear.

The notorious Azazel mentioned only in Lev 16:8, 10, and 26 receives attention in *Chapter VI*. It has been identified as (1) a noun meaning “sending away” (Septuagint), (2) a compound noun “hard and rough” (Talmud), (3) a place name for a rocky precipice (Targum), or (4) the name of a demon or a demoted deity (the favored interpretation of recent commentators). Philological evidence is provided to support the traditions in the Talmud and Targum that Azazel is a place name rather than a demon’s name.

INTRODUCTION

The statement that “the man Moses was more meek than any man on earth” (Num 12:3) is an embarrassment for those who would make Moses the author of everything in the Pentateuch. In *Chapter VII* this verse is reinterpreted in light of (1) **הָאֵשׁ** being a homograph for “the man” and for the verb “he was brought to despair,” and (2) in light of **עַנְיִן / עַנְנוּ** being a homograph meaning either “to be meek/mild” or “to be distressed.” Interpreting the homographs according to the second definition of each word indicates that sibling rivalry made Moses “to despair and be depressed” more than anyone else on earth. It is a confession that could be made by Moses or about Moses with all due humility.

Chapter VIII addresses the tension between Deu 15:4, “there will be no poor among you” and Deu 15:11, “for the poor will never cease out of the land.” The only problematic word in these two phrases is **חֶדֶל** “to cease” because it is also a homograph of two other verbs—with Arabic cognates—meaning (a) “to treat unjustly,” (b) “to refuse to help.” The intended statement of Deu 15:11 was “the poor from the midst of the land must not be denied aid.” Alternative interpretations, which ignore or misinterpret the Arabic cognates of **חֶדֶל**, are in fairness also presented even though they fail to alleviate the tensions in the texts.

Without a doubt, Rahab of Jericho was a **זָוָנה**. But “harlot” is only one of ten possible definitions of **זָוָנה**. In *Chapter IX* all ten possibilities are presented and support is given for the understanding found in the Targum and in Josephus that Rahab was not a harlot but an inn-keeper. She provided her guests with “bed and breakfast”—not her bed.

The brief quotation in Jos 10: 7–15 from the “Book of the Wars of Yahweh,” coupled with Joshua’s call for the sun to

INTRODUCTION

“be still” and for the moon to “stand” are the focus of *Chapter X*. As the text now stands, Joshua’s command to the sun and moon came *after* the enemy had already been defeated thanks to deadly hail stones from heaven. An Arabic cognate suggests that Joshua’s commands to the sun and moon were made prior to his overnight march so that his troops could move in the stealth of a prolonged moonless night. He was granted not only a “blackout” but a solar eclipse as well—with the earth and moon continuously orbiting the sun which had never moved in the first place.

Although Huldah’s name can mean “ageless” and “unforgettable,” this prophetess, mentioned in II Kings 22:14 and II Chron 34:22, receives scant attention by the commentators. In *Chapter XI* the meanings of Huldah’s name, her status, function, and “residence” are examined. All the evidence supports the translation of the Septuagint in II Chron 22:14 that Huldah was “the (woman) guarding the commandments.” As the guardian of the oral tradition she was consulted by king and high priest to validate or discredit the integrity of a newly discovered Torah scroll.

While the prophetess Huldah was demeaned in tradition as the “weasel woman,” the Samaritan prophet Oded is all but ignored. In *Chapter XII* the account about Oded in II Chron 28:5–15 is studied, with the unbelievably high casualty figures of 120,000 dead and 200,000 captured being reinterpreted as 120 units killed and 200 bands captured. Phoenician and Arabic cognates suggest four definitions for Oded’s name which were probably recognized by his contemporaries: (1) *compassionate* (2) *aged* (3) *prophet*, and (4) *restorer*.

The brief study in *Chapter XIII* explores the etymology of the בָּשָׂר “cotton” in Esther 1:6 and its relationship to similar

INTRODUCTION

sounding words in Greek which became associated with Joseph's famed tunic. The effort is made to determine how celery and parsley became symbolic reminders of Joseph's tunic when celebrating the Passover Seder.

Chapter XIV deals with three problematic words in Psalm 2:11b–12a. Seven of the ancient versions translated the three words four different ways. Modern translations are equally diverse, having everything from “kiss the Chosen One” to “kiss his feet.” The translations of Jerome and Symmachus, “worship in purity” find support from three Arabic cognates, with the only emendation being the reading of וְגַלְוִי as גַּלְוִי and בָּרִי as בָּר, i.e., shifting a ‘ from one word to another.

The puzzle addressed in *Chapter XV* concerns, in part, the five names in Prov 30:1 (RSV) for which there are no corresponding names in the Septuagint. The apparent names are better read as: (1) a passive participle, (2) a noun, (3) an active participle, (4) a three-element phrase, and (5) a verb. Arabic cognates provide the clues for defining six words in addition to the sixteen words in Prov 1:1–5 having previously recognized Arabic cognates.

In *Chapter XVI* Qoheleth’s chauvinism, as expressed in Eccles 7:26–28, comes under scrutiny. Once the relative pronoun נַשָּׁה is recognized as the homograph of נַשָּׁה “self-conceited,” Qoheleth’s chauvinism is diminished to the point that he dislikes conceited women, not women in general.

Three of the ten words in the Hebrew of Song of Solomon 1:3—dealing with perfume—were misunderstood by the Septuagint translators and the Masoretes who pointed the Hebrew text. These three words are examined in *Chapter XVII*, where the case is made, in light of contextually appropriate Arabic cognates, for repointing one sibilant and modifying four

INTRODUCTION

vowels. The result of these changes brings sense to a statement about a scent.

A sexually explicit two-word Hebrew phrase is hidden in Jer 5:8a. There are five different spellings in the Hebrew manuscripts for one of the two words, and the etymology of both words has been uncertain until now. In *Chapter XVIII* these two words are identified with two Arabic cognates which, having slightly different pronunciations than their Hebrew counterparts, were overlooked in other studies of this phrase.

In *Chapter XIX* the enigmatic statement in Jer 31:21–22 about a reversal of sexual roles is examined. It has long been recognized that twenty-eight of the thirty-three lexemes in these two verses have Arabic cognates; but seven nuances of these Arabic cognates have been recognized only in Castell’s Semitic Lexicon of 1669. Appeal to these nuances and an additional Arabic cognate brings clarity to the Septuagintal variants in these verses and the layered levels of meaning embedded in the Hebrew text.

To the surprise of the reader of Ezek 3:14, the “hand of the LORD” seemingly made Ezekiel “bitter” rather than ecstatic when the spirit/wind lifted him up and carried him to the Chebar River. In *Chapter XX* two Arabic cognates are introduced which permit this verse to be read as a simple statement about Ezekiel’s mode of transport rather than being a statement about his emotional response or spiritual condition.

Ezek 13:17–23 has been a riddle for the best of commentators who have guessed about the meaning of “women sewing cushions to all armholes” or “pillows under every elbow?” In *Chapter XXI* the riddle is solved by recognizing that two oracles have been interwoven. Once the oracles are separated

INTRODUCTION

and the poetic lines are reordered, Ezekiel’s denouncement of (1) false prophetesses and of (2) women administering first-aid in the ruins of Zion can be recovered. The exact meaning of six Hebrew words are clarified by Arabic cognates which leave no doubt that Ezekiel addressed women doing triage to save the wicked while the righteous were left to die.

Ezekiel 28 is even more disordered than Ezekiel 13. In *Chapter XXII* order is restored in Ezekiel 28 by a major reordering of the poetic lines, coupled with minimal emendation of several words—like reading **הִיַּחַת** as *scriptio defec-tiva* for the customary **הִיַּחְיָה** “I was.” Thus, the King of Tyre asserted, “I was in Eden, the Garden of God,” rather than having, with the Masoretic text, Yahweh telling the King of Tyre through the prophet, “you were in Eden,” as if Yahweh were validating the king’s claim of being a god.

In *Chapter XXIII* the statement in Joel 2:31 that “the moon will turn into *blood*” (**לְדָם**) is interpreted as meaning “the moon will turn to *darkness*,” with the Hebrew **דָם** being a variant form of **דָּמָם**, the Arabic cognate of which means “it became black, dark.”

A résumé of the prophet Amos, gleaned from the book which bears his name, is examined in *Chapter XXIV*. One way of reading the résumé makes Amos a lowly herdsman and a dresser of sycamores; but another way of reading the same résumé would make him an affluent rancher, an investigator/examiner of what was happening in his world. He may even have affirmed, “I am indeed a prophet”

Zechariah’s vision, as traditionally interpreted, of a wicked woman sitting in a covered basket (Zec 5:5–11) is examined in *Chapter XXV*. The interpretation made by Marenof in 1931, that the “basket” is actually a “shrine,” is revived and fully

INTRODUCTION

endorsed. The “woman” in the shrine is probably an image of a goddess.” Consequently, Zechariah’s vision was not about all women being wicked, but about idolatry in Jerusalem.

Eight texts from the Gospels are studied in *Chapters XXVI–XXXIII*. A reconstruction of the Hebrew *Vorlage* of a Gospel text, or an appeal to the *Hebrew Gospel of Matthew* published by Shem Tob Ibn Shaprut (c. 1400), provides exegetical options unavailable when restricted to the Greek text.

The “standing” of a star over Bethlehem, as stated in Matt 2:9, is the focus of *Chapter XXVI*. Syriac and Arabic cognates would permit the Hebrew **הכוכב עמד** to be translated as “the star stood” or “the star set.”

The five different traditions about Jesus’ statement concerning the placement of a lamp are examined in *Chapter XXVII*. The variations apparently stem from Hebrew or Aramaic *Vorlagen* having either סור or סיד or סוד or סיר or some combination of these which eventuated into doublets.

Chapter XXVIII, dealing with Matt 7:6 and its prohibition against “casting pearls before swine,” is the longest chapter in the book. The Hebrew and Aramaic reconstructions of this verse are easy enough to make, but the interpretation of the *unpointed* reconstructions is difficult, thanks to homographs which do not distinguish between “dogs” and “dog-keepers” or “swine” and “swineherds,” and the like. What appears in Greek to be a riddle of sorts was in Hebrew Jesus’ building a fence around the Torah and his Halakah.

Another of Jesus’ enigmatic statements, “Let the dead bury the dead” (Matt 8:22), is dealt with in *Chapter XXIX*. The repetition of νεκροὺς “dead” in the Greek reflects a Hebrew *Vorlage* with homographs, namely מותים “dead” and מותים “next-of-kin.” Jesus’ use of paronomasia, when misread as

INTRODUCTION

simple repetition transformed a common-sense word of advise to his disciple into a senseless riddle for the reader of Greek.

The report in Matt 10:34–36 that the “Prince of Peace” stated, “I have not come to bring peace but a sword,” is critically examined in *Chapter XXX*. If the Hebrew *Vorlage* for “peace” was שָׁלוֹם (*shalom*), it was a homograph used for three other words; and if חַלְיף (*halif*) was in the *Vorlage* for “sword,” it was a homograph with thirteen other definitions. The homographs are spelled out and it may well have been that Jesus stated, “I have not come to bring the *end*, but a *change*.”

Chapter XXXI addresses the conflicting statements of Jesus (a) that loving one’s neighbor/kith-and-kin (Lev 19:18) is the second greatest commandment (Matt 22:39) and (b) if would-be disciples do not hate their family members they cannot become disciples (Luke 14:26). Evidence is presented that a Hebrew *Vorlage* having הָנָז or נָזֵן could have been translated into Greek as either “hate” or “forsake”—or a number of other ways, depending on one’s choice of cognates and whether the וּ is read as a וּ or a וּ.

In *Chapter XXXII* eight derivations of the names *Miriam* and *Mary* are presented and six definitions of *Magdalene* are cited. In dealing with the lexicons and literature on these three names, the meaning of ten other names in the Bible or in the Talmud are clarified through Arabic, Aramaic, Greek, Persian, and Syriac cognates or loanwords.

The Gospel of John concludes (21:15–23) with the final conversation between Jesus and Peter. In *Chapter XXXIII* this dialogue is analyzed, assuming Hebrew was the language of discourse. The reconstructed exchange between Jesus and Peter transforms the indefinite, “Do you love me more than

INTRODUCTION

these” into the definite, “do you love me more than kith-and-kin.” Peter’s response to Jesus’ thrice asking, “Do you love me?” was thrice an emphatic, “I cherish you!” Subtle nuances in Hebrew were lost when the conversation was translated into Greek.

The last two chapters deal with problems in extra-canonical literature. Chapter *XXXIV* addresses the crux in the Psalms of Solomon 2:26–27, which states that Pompey was “pierced through on the mountains of Egypt,” in disagreement with classical sources which tell of his being assassinated in a boat offshore in Egyptian waters. A Hebrew *Vorlage* with חַרְיִ, recognized as the cognate of an Arabic word meaning “inlet,” misread as חָרֵי, can easily account for the errors in the Greek and Syriac texts of the Psalms of Solomon.

Chapter *XXXV*, like Chapter *XXXII*, deals primarily with the derivation of names. Arabic cognates of Hebrew חַשְׁמָן suggest multiple layers of meaning for *Hasmonean*, including (a) *angry*, (b) *lion*, (c) *feared*, and (d) *held in awe*. Arabic cognates also contribute to clarifying (1) the title “Thracida” (“Banisher-of-the-Enemy”) given to Alexander Jannaeus, and (2) the reference in 4Q169 to “those seeking secession” (a phrase mistakenly rendered by some scholars as “the seekers of flattery”).

These introductory comments to the following thirty-five chapters contain over twenty references to Arabic cognates. The reader unacquainted with the prominence of Arabic cognates in Hebrew philological studies may benefit from a preliminary look at the *Addendum* in *Chapter XIX*(180–181) where, in a random selection of Jer31:21–22, twenty-eight of the thirty-three Hebrew lexemes cited in the Hebrew lexicons have well recognized Arabic cognates.

I

REPTILE RATIONS IN GENESIS 3:14 AND ISAIAH 65:25

INTRODUCTION

In Akkadian “eating dust” to indicate humiliation or defeat has essentially the same meaning as Hebrew “licking the dust” or putting one’s face or mouth in the dust, as in Isa. 49:23 “**אָפִים אֶרְצָן . . . וְעַפֵּר רֹגְלֵיכֶם יְלַחֵשׁ**,” “with their faces to the ground . . . they shall lick the dust of your feet,” and Lam 3:29, “**יְתִן בְּעַפֵּר פִּיהוּ**” “let him put his mouth in the dust.” Seven examples are cited in *CAD*¹ under *eperu*, including, “let our enemies see (this) and eat dust (i.e., be defeated),” “dust shall be their food, pitch their ointment, sheep’s urine their drink,” and “. . . (in the nether world) where their sustenance is dust (and clay their food).” But in Hebrew **אָכְלُ עַפֵּר** “eating dust” was not the equivalent of “licking the dust” or “biting the dust.” Hebrew **אָכְלُ עַפֵּר** pertained to a diet, and early translators understood it quite literally. The curse in Gen 3:14, **וְעַפֵּר תְּאַכֵּל**, became καὶ γῆν φάγετε in the Septuagint, and the Targums have simply **וְעַפְרָא תִּיכּוֹל** (Pseudo-Jonathan and Onkelos) or **וְעַפְרָא תִּהְיוּ** (Neophyti). Likewise, in Isa 65:25 MT **וְנַחַשׁ יְהוָה מִזְוָנֶךָ** became ὄφεις δὲ γῆν ᾧς ἀρτον in the Septuagint, and Targum Jonathan rendered the phrase **וְחַוִּיא עַפְרָא לְחַמְנוֹתָךְ**.²

However, when **אָכְלُ עַפֵּר** is taken literally rather than being read as an expression of humiliation, the texts under review become problematic since snakes, being carnivores, do

not diet on dust. The rodents or insects snakes ingest may be dirty or dusty, but no dirtier than the hay oxen eat or the grass cows chew. Dirt and dust were never the serpent’s “daily bread.” The audience for whom Gen 3:14 was first intended would have surely concluded that the serpent had proven itself immune from the curse of eating dust since it was obviously a carnivorous creature.

Moreover, there is tension, if not contradiction, between the curse in Gen 3:14 requiring snakes to eat עַפְרָה and the assertion in Isa 65:25 that in the coming peaceable kingdom snakes will be able to eat עַפְרָה. Although van Ruiten (1992: 31–42)³ has argued that the expression “eating dust,” like the expression “licking the dust,” contains an element of curse, there is no evidence to support the claim that Trito-Isaiah wanted to perpetuate the curse about the serpent’s food and introduce a new *curse* making lions into straw-eating herbivores.⁴ Hos 2:20 (English 2:18) makes it quite clear that the new covenant of peace would be a blessing for every creature, including the רַמֵּשׁ הַאֲדָמָה “creeping creature” (which surely included snakes) and the חַיִת הַשָּׂדָה “beast of the field” (which, according to Gen 3:1, included the serpent).

Given these difficulties, which cannot be dismissed simply by claiming that Isa 65:25c is a gloss (see *BHS*), the question to be addressed is whether there is another possible way of understanding עַפְרָה other than “dust” which would permit a better interpretation of Gen 3:14, Isa 11:7, and Isa 65:25, as well as help in a reassessment of critical conclusions about the integrity of Isa 65:25c.

The commentators have not addressed the fact that the serpent’s diet of רַבְעָה did not reflect the real world in the

same way in which the curse of עֲצָבֹן “sorrow, pain” reflected the reality of Adam and Eve’s progeny in their productive and reproductive endeavors. The possibility of עַפֵּר having some other meaning in these texts was never broached, as a sampling of critical opinion on Gen 3:14 and Isa 65:25 demonstrates.⁵

In reference to Gen 3:14, Skinner (1930: 79) cited Mic 7:17: “**יְלִחְכוּ עַפֵּר כְּנַחַשׁ כּוֹחֶלֶי אָרֶץ**,” “they shall lick the dust like a serpent, like the crawling things of the earth” and Isa 65:25, “**וְאַרְיָה כַּבֵּךְ יַאֲכִל-תָּבֵן וְנַחַשׁ עַפֵּר לְחַמּוֹ**,” “the lion shall eat straw like the ox, and dust shall be the serpent’s food.” Disagreeing with other critics, he preferred a literal meaning, stating:

It is a prosaic explanation to say that the serpent, crawling on the ground, inadvertently swallows a good deal of dust (Boch. *Hieroz.* iii. 245; Di. al.); and a mere metaphor for humiliation (like Ass. *ti-ka-lu ip-ra*; *KIB*, v. 232f.) is too weak a sense for this passage. Probably it is a piece of ancient superstition, like the Arabian notion that the *ginn* eat dirt (We. *Heid.* 150).⁶

Speiser (1964: 22) translated “on dirt shall you feed” (as though there were a preposition in the clause) but offered no comment as to whether he meant “dirt you shall feed on” or if he was changing עַפֵּר from being the serpent’s diet to the place where the serpent ate. Similarly, von Rad (1961b: 89) noted, “It [the serpent] appears to live from the dust in which it hisses,” thereby dismissing the diet of dust in exchange for the serpent’s dusty habitat.⁷ Sarna (1989: 27) also called attention to Mic 7:17, Psa 72:9, and Isa 49:2–3 (“He made my mouth like a sharp sword . . .”), stating in light of these texts, “. . . [the serpent’s] flickering tongue appears to lick dust,” as

if “licking dust” were the same as “swallowing dust” or “speaking” with a sharp tongue.

The commentators on Isaiah 65 have not been any more helpful in addressing the issues raised.⁸ Torrey (1928: 470–471) argued that Isa 11:7 borrowed from Isa 65:25, commenting

the parenthetical allusion to the serpent’s food (!) is another example of the writer’s sly humor which is likely to appear suddenly. As he thinks here of the improved diet of once dangerous beasts, Gen 3:14 comes into his mind and he adds the reflection ‘No change for the old serpent!’

Smart (1965: 281) side stepped the issue by making Isa 65:25 a gloss from 11:7, asserting that 65:24 was the conclusion of the chapter since

it seems more likely that Second Isaiah would have concluded the picture of the servants’ felicity with a promise of God’s readiness to help rather than with a general description of wild beasts at peace with each other in all Palestine.

Westermann (1969: 410) similarly concluded

The passage might well have ended with v. 24. Verse 25 follows on somewhat abruptly and does not entirely suit what precedes it There [Isaiah xi 6–9], the peace among the animal-world is depicted with broader strokes of the brush and in greater detail; it is generally assumed that 65:25 is a quotation of Isa. 11.

Young (1972: 517) observed only, “[the] *Serpent* on this construction is a *casus pendens*. B [Codex Vaticanus =] ὁφις δὲ γῆν ως ἄρτον.” Whybray (1975: 278–279) provided the lengthiest commentary, stating

This [v. 25] is a condensed version of 11:6–9. . . . and dust shall be the serpent’s food: it is probably useless to seek a logical link between this phrase and the rest of the verse. It

impairs the metrical structure, and its allusion to the eating habits of animals seems to be its only link with the context. It is a gloss based on Gen 3:14.

Ridderbos (1985: 572) conjectured, “The allusion [of dust being the serpent’s food] is evidently to Genesis 3:14; the implication seems to be that the serpent will submit to its curse without hurting human beings anymore.” But this interpretation, which follows several nineteenth-century proposals cited by Alexander (1875: 455), begs the question for the enmity between snakes and humans was very real long before post-exilic times, but snakes subsisting on עַפְרָה “dust” was as unreal then as now.

CLUES FROM ARABIC COGNATES

Two unrecognized Arabic cognates of עַפְרָה provide a more reasonable interpretation of Gen 3:14 and Isa 65:25. Hebrew lexicographers have long recognized the stems עַפְרָה I “dry earth, dust” and עַפְרָה II “young hart, stag” (the former being cognate to Arabic *‘afar*) and the latter to غُفر (*gufr*), but until now they have not recognized עַפְרָה III, cognate with Arabic *gfr*, which Lane (1867: 842; 1877: 2274) defined as “[the غُفر (*gfr*) is] a certain دَوْبَة (*duwaybat*) [by which may be meant *a small beast or creeping thing, or an insect*]” i.e., a synonym of دَبَّات (*dabbat*) about which Lane noted “The dim. [signifying *Any small animal that walks or creeps or crawls upon the earth, a small beast, a small reptile or creeping thing, a creeping insect, and any insect, and also a mollusk, . . .*] is دَوْبَة (*duwaybat*).”

This definition of غُفر (*gfr*) certainly fits the Hebrew עַפְרָה in Gen 3:14. Although a few snakes can swallow a small stag

or young hart (= **עֵפֶר** II), many more can devour smaller creatures like rabbits, rodents, or insects (= دَوَيْبَةٌ = **عَفَرٌ** III = **عَفَرٌ** duwaybbat). Consequently, in light of the Arabic cognate **غَفَرٌ** (*gifr*) it seems reasonable to translate **וְעַפְרָתָא כָלָל** in Gen 3:14 as “rodents shall you eat,” or the like, a translation which corresponds to reality and indicates an etiological element in the narrative.

In addition, Arabic **غَفَرٌ** (*gfr*) may be read not only as *gifr* but also as *gafar*, the Hebrew cognate of which can be labeled as **עֵפֶר** IV. Lane defines **غَفَرٌ** (*gafar*) as

Small herbage . . . [or] *a sort of small sprouting herbage, of the [season called] ربيع (rabī‘) growing in plain, or soft, land, and upon the [eminences termed] أَكَامٍ (‘akām) . . . (which) when green, resembling green passerine birds standing; and when it is dried up, resembling such as are red, not standing.*

This definition of **غَفَرٌ** (*gafar*) (= **עֵפֶר** IV) fits well the cognate **עֵפֶר** in Isa 65:25.

Since some may consider these suggestions for Hebrew stems III and IV the result of “fishing about” in the Arabic lexicon,⁹ traditions in Megillah 18^{a-b} and Rosh Hashanah 26^{a-b} need to be kept in mind. They speak of biblical and Mishnaic words “of which our teachers did not know the meaning . . .” (לֹא הָוָה יְדֻעִי רַבֵּן מֵאֵין) until the words were heard being used by Arabs in the marketplace and by handmaids in the household of the Rabbi.¹⁰

If the **עֵפֶר** in Isa 65:25 is stem IV and cognate with Arabic **غَفَرٌ** (*gafar*), the phrase **וְנַחַשׁ עֵפֶר לְחַמּוֹ** can be translated “sprouts (will be) the serpent’s food,” or the like. Thus, the prophetic vision of the peaceable kingdom anticipated lions

and snakes being transformed from carnivores to herbivores, admitting that some of the plants may have animal-like or bird-like appearances—if the Arabic nuances of غفر (gafar) were also true of Trito-Isaiah’s עפָר. For Trito-Isaiah, all creatures—serpents, snakes, and reptiles included—would be free from the curse of their own predacious behavior and the predatoriness of others.

If the poetry of Trito-Isaiah was originally oral poetry, free from the ambiguities of homographs, an effective wordplay would have been transparent: serpents which ordinarily feasted on small creatures” would dine in the new age only on “sprouting vegetation.” Unfortunately, the voiced velar fricative (غ = ع) was lost in the spelling—even if retained in speech—having merged with the voiced pharyngal fricative (ع = ع),¹¹ resulting in the homophones עפָר “dust,” and עפָר “sprouting plant” and the homographs עפָר, stems I, II, III, and IV, noted already. Had the poet been controlled by post-exilic orthographic canons, it seems very unlikely that the ambiguous עפָר would have been used without a clarifying modifier.

With the غفر (gfr) and عفر (cfr) Arabic cognates in mind, we can prepare a more realistic menu for the serpent mentioned in Gen 3:14 and in Isa 65:25. Since Hebrew עפָר can equal the Arabic غفر (gfr) as well as عفر (cfr), it could have meant dirt, dust, crawling creatures, or sprouting vegetation. However, contextually, the עפָר “entrée” in Gen 3:14 is best understood as a collective noun meaning “small crawling or creeping creatures.” But the context of Isa 65:25 suggests that the “entrée” there was some sort of “sprouting vegetation.”¹² When so read, these verses are no longer at odds with each

other, and Gen 3:14 is consistent with the observable eating habits of snakes and reptiles.

The question of the priority of Isa 11:7 or 65:25 remains open. I agree with van Ruiten and others who have argued for the priority of Isa 11:7. However, there is no longer sufficient justification to isolate Isa 65:25c as a late addition. When read as a term for sprouting vegetation, עַפְרָה (stem IV) is the synonymous parallel of בָּשָׂר “straw,” matching the parallelism of the lion and the serpent. Since glossators seldom transformed bi-colons into fully synonymous tri-colons, the third colon was no doubt in the original poetic line. Trito-Isaiah’s point in 65:25 appears to have been that the transformation of all carnivores into herbivores will restore Eden’s harmonious coexistence for all creatures. Serpents will participate in the restoration of the Edenic vegetarian diet (Gen 1 29a) by shifting, so to speak, from eating *hares* to eating *herbs*.

NOTES

1. *CAD* 4: 184–190, especially 186. For studies which focus on dust, see Hillers (1987: 105–109) and Rainey (1974: 77–83).
2. For the Septuagint references see Zeigler (1939: 365) and Wevers (1974: 92); for the Targums see Berliner (1884: 2); Stenning (1949: 218–219); Díez Macho (1968: 15); Wevers (1974: 92); Aberbach, M. and B. Grossfeld (1982: 37); Clarke and Aufrecht (1984: 4); and *The Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch: Codex Vatican (Neofiti 1)*, Jerusalem: Makor, 1979, Volume I: 7.
3. See especially van Ruiten 1992: 41–42.

4. van Ruiten (1992: 41) concluded,

The grazing of the wolf, the eating straw of the lion can be interpreted as curses for these predatory animals. At the same time these curses are blessings for the domesticated animals, the lamb and the ox. . . . It is not the harmony between the strong and the weak, which is the most important point In (*sic*) Isa 65, 25, but the righteous judgment in which the curse for the strong will be a blessing for the weak.

However, van Ruiten introduced his study with the assertion, “. . . the harmonious state of the animal world reflects the perfect relationship between YHWH and his servants, described in v. 24. This relationship results in the disappearance of evil and ruin from the holy mountain.” One must ask, therefore, how the *perfect relationship* of the new cosmos can be structured—without evil—on a paradigm of curses for the strong and blessings for the weak? The tension between Isa 11:7 and 65:25 was removed by van Ruiten, but in the process Trito-Isaiah is made to envision a new cosmos which is less than perfect.

5. See van Ruiten 1992: 31–32 for bibliography and a summary of critical opinion on redactional issues relative to Isa 11:6–9 and 65:25.

6. The abbreviations used by Skinner are for S. Bochartus, *Hierozoicon, sive bipartitum opus de animalibus Sacrae Scripturæ*, edited by E. F. K. Rosenmüller (1793–1796, vol. 3, p. 245); A. Dillmann, *Die Genesis*, Kurtzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament, sixth edition, 1892: 533; E. Schrader, *Keilinschrifliche Bibliothek*, 1889: 232–233; and J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, second edition, 1897: 150.

7. von Rad (1961a: 74) stated, “Woher diese Lebensweise; vom Staube, in dem sie ziängelt, scheint sie sich zu nähren (Jes. 65,25; Mi 7,17).”

8. See note 5, above.

9. Compare L. E. Stager (1986: 225) who critiqued Craigie’s translation (1971: 349–352) of פָרָזֹן in Jud 5:7 as “warrior.” Stager noted in disagreement, “Craigie has gone fishing for etymologies in the vast reservoir of Arabic and hooked a root (*baraza*, ‘going forth to battle’). . . .”

10. *Babylonian Talmud: Megillah* 18^{a–b} (Epstein 1938: 111–112) and *Rosh Hashanah* 26^{a–b} (Epstein 1938: 118–119). For other examples, see Barr (1968: 56–58, 268), noting especially his statement that

. . . the ancient translators did their task remarkably well, considering the circumstances. Their grasp of Hebrew, however, was very often a grasp of that which is *average* and *customary* in Hebrew. . . . there was a strong tendency towards the levelling of the vocabulary and the interpretation of that which was rare as if it was that which was more normal.

Barr’s words are true for many more recent interpretations and translations. For other examples of using Arabic cognates to resolve long-standing cruces in the Biblical text, see McDaniel 1983: 262–264 and 397–398; McDaniel 2002: 236–237 and 339–341, and the following chapters in this volume.

11. Sáenz-Badillo (1993: 69) noted that the date of the neutralization of velar and pharyngeal phonemes, including ‘ayin (ع) and ǵayin (݂), is unclear since the difference between these phonemes was still felt at the time of the Septuagint translation.

12. The possible cognates are not exhausted by the definitions cited here. See Lane 1877: 2089 for عفر (*‘ipr*) “a boar, a swine” and عفر (*‘ipir*) “wicked, crafty, evil” and 1874: 2274 for غفر (*gîfr*) “the young of a cow” and مغافير/ مغفر (*miḡfir/magāfir*) “mellan, manna, honey,” with the latter meanings being attractive alternatives for Isa 65:25.

II

GENESIS 3:16 “HE SHALL BE LIKE YOU”

AN ALTERNATIVE READING OF A VERB

The verb יִמְשַׁל in Gen 3:16 is from מְשַׁל stem I, “to be like, to be similar,” rather than לְשַׁל stem II, “to rule, to reign,” as traditionally interpreted and translated. As noted in the Hebrew lexicons (BDB 605), מְשַׁל stem I, “to be like” is not attested in the simple *Qal* form. However, in light of the the Aramaic נָמְל “to be comparable,”¹ which is well attested in the simple *Pē’al* form and corresponds to the Hebrew *Qal* form (Jastrow 862), there is good reason to assume that the Hebrew verb מְשַׁל stem I was also used in the simple *Qal* form, meaning “to be like, to be comparable.” This would mean that lexicographers, along with translators and commentators, erred in assigning the *Qal* יִמְשַׁל in Gen 3:16 to stem II, rather than to stem I. Recognition of a *Qal* for מְשַׁל stem I would permit the retention of יִמְשַׁל as the correct vocalization. But this would require giving מְשַׁל in 3:16 a different definition than the one found in Rabbinic and Christian tradition.

It is also possible that the scribes mis-vocalized יִמְשַׁל as יִמְשֵׁל, having wrongly assumed that the word was from מְשַׁל stem II “to rule” because it was so widely attested in the *Qal*. The יִמְשַׁל could actually be an intensive *Pi’el* form of the verb to be vocalized יִמְשַׁל meaning “he will be just like (you).”²

Were the original word יִמְשַׁל in Gen 3:16 an intensive *Pi^cel* verb, confusion would not have occurred in the oral tradition since the intensive יִמְשַׁל and the simple form יִמְשָׁל are clearly dissimilar in speech. Confusion would have come only with a written text where יִמְשַׁל could have been read as either יִמְשָׁל or יִמְשַׁל.³

The widespread use of the suffixed preposition בְּ with מְשַׁל stem II, is not decisive in support of the traditional translation of Gen 3:16 as “he shall rule over you.” The Arabic cognate of مُشَّل “to be like” also takes the preposition بِ as, for example, تَمَثِّل بِكُذَا (*tamat tala bikadâ*) “he affected to be like such a thing” (Lane 1893: 3017c). Thus, בְּ was probably used in Hebrew with מְשַׁל stem I “to be like unto,” as well as stem II “to rule over.”

SHARING THE SAME SORROW

The עֲזֹבֵן “sorrow” and עֲזֹבֶנּוּ “sorrow” in 3:16 is balanced by the repetition of עֲזֹבֵן in 3:17, indicating that the curse for the man and the woman were similar, although not identical since the עֲזֹבֵן was gender specific.⁴ The sorrow would come to the woman through the fruit of the womb when death could rob her of her joy over the new life. The sorrow of the man would come through the fruit of the field which he would produce, for thorns and thistles could preclude adequate food to sustain the new life. The penalty for each was *essentially* the same. Consequently, it is not surprising that the woman was told יִמְשַׁל בְּ “he will be just like you!” rather than يִמְשָׁל בְּ “he will rule over you!”

The עֲזֹבּוּ “sorrow” common to the man and the woman was explicitly spelled out; but the mutual תְּשׁוֹקָה “sexual desire,” explicitly expressed in Song of Songs 7:11 (“for me is his desire”), was only implicitly addressed in Gen 3:16.

If the early Greek translation of the הַרְגֵּנֶךְ “your conceiving” in Gen 3:16 as “your moaning”⁵ has any merit, it would well demonstrate another similarity in the gender specific curses. The women’s lamentation would be matched by the man’s grief evidenced by a “running nose” mentioned in 3:19. The בִּזְעַת אַפִּירָךְ, commonly translated “sweat of your brow,” is literally “the dripping of your nostrils.”⁶ The dripping nose could speak of crying due to the sorrow which comes when even hard work leaves one fruitless and one’s progeny starving.

The man and the woman would have their equal share of grief. This shared grief was not to rob them of the blessing of labor itself, i.e., the blessing of a progeny and produce. The שַׁבָּת “Sabbath rest” would provide relief for them both from the fatigue and pain of labor, but there would be no respite for their aching hearts in a struggle with nature, a struggle for survival, and a struggle for life. The עֲזֹבּוּ “sorrow” was the reality of human mortality. (The opportunity to eat of the tree of life in Eden was forever gone.) Birth would be overshadowed by death and the sorrow it produces.

GENDER EQUALITY

The equality of the man and the woman fashioned in creation survived the fall. Death and sorrow were not respecters of person or gender. Thus, it was well said to the woman

concerning he man, “He will be just like you!” A hierarchy of men over women is not required by the Hebrew בַּקְשׁוּ יְמִשְׁלָכֶךָ of Gen 3:16, even though the pervasive patriarchal hierarchy insinuated itself into the translations of and traditions about this text. These traditions and translations added another dimension to the sorrow—the sorrow *of* the man and the woman became the grief *between* the man and the woman once a hierarchy was introduced when יְמִשְׁלָכֶךָ was misunderstood to mean “he will rule over you” rather than “he will be like you.”

The Genesis creation accounts clearly affirm the equality of the man and the woman. The male אָדָם (Adam = “Earthling”), though created before the female חַיָּה (= Eve = “Life”), could not claim “first come, first served” since he was created from the feminine אָדָמָה “earth” which was made before him and from which he received his name. As the *man* (אָדָם = “earthling”) came from the *earth* (אָדָמָה), the *woman* (הַשְׁנִית) came from the *man* (שִׁבְעָה / אָנָוֹת). The narrator carefully balanced (1) the priority of the feminine before the masculine and (2) the priority of the male before the female to make clear the gender equality.

The translations of עֵזֶר כֹּנֶךְ in Gen 2:18 as “an help meet for him”(KJV) or “a helper fit for him” (RSV) are misleading in that they suggests a subordinate role as a “helpmate.” Actually, both words indicate an elevated role for the woman. The word עֵזֶר means a “savior” or a “rescuer” and was used to describe God’s being the savior of Israel (Psa 20:3, 121:1–2, 124:8). When Adam was the lone human, he could not procreate by himself. He needed someone who could deliver him from his aloneness. The woman saved him not

simply by her presence, but by their progeny—and in progeny there was a kind of immortality.

Moreover, the second word in the phrase, **כִּנְנָדוֹ**, is a composite of (1) the preposition **כִּי** “as,” and (2) the substantive **נֶגֶד** “front,” and (3) the suffix **וּ** “his,” which together mean literally “as his front-one.” For the theologians of Genesis, the woman was not *beneath* or *behind* the man; she was designed to be *ahead* of him. The noun of the stem **נֶגֶד** is **נֶגֶד** meaning “the one in front” or “the leader,” which was used as a title for David as the ruler of Israel.

NOTES

1. The **תַ** appears in place of the **שׁ** as expected since the original phoneme was the inter-dental fricative *t* which survives in the Arabic cognate **مُشَلٌ** (*maṭala / miṭl*) “to resemble / a similar person or thing” (Lane 1893: 3017; Wehr 1979: 1046–1048). The *t* shifted to a **שׁ** in Hebrew and to a **תַ** in Aramaic.
2. Since the *Hithpa'el* (the reflexive of the intensive *Pi'el*) or its equivalent is attested in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic, the *Pi'el* must also have been used in Hebrew, along with the other forms cited in the lexicons.
3. An original *Pi'el* **ימְשַׁל**—which is not attested for stem II—would have avoided the ambiguity of the *Qal* **יְמְשַׁל** which could have been from either stem I “to be like” or stem II “to rule.”
4. It is important to note that **עֲזֹבֵן** is correctly translated by “sorrow” since it speaks of emotional rather than physical pain. See BDB 781–782 for all occurrences of **עֲזֹבֵן** in the Bible.

5. Reading perhaps וְהַגִּינֶךָ “and your moaning” for וְהַרְגֵנֶךָ “and your conceiving.”

6. Hebrew נַחַ “nose” and the dual נַפְתַּחַ “nostrils” can also be used for “face,” as reflected in the Septuagintal ἐν ἱδρῶτι τοῦ προσώπου σου “in the sweat of your face.” The Hebrew word for “brow” or “forehead” is מִצְחָה.

III

ISHMAEL: A PEACE MAKER

GENESIS 16:10–12

INTRODUCTION

וַיֹּלֶךְ בֶּן וִקְרָאת שְׁמוֹ יִשְׁמְעָאל ...
הַוָּא יְהִי פָּרָא אֲדָם
יַדּוֹ בְּכָל וַיֵּד פָּל בָּו
וְעַל-פָּנֵי כָּל-אֶחָיו יִשְׁכַּן:

You shall bear a son and call his name Ishmael
He shall be a wild ass of a man,
his hand against every man
and every man's hand against him;
and he shall dwell over against all his kinsmen.

(KJV, RSV)

The translations of Gen 16:10–12 and Gen 25:17–18, cited below, illustrate the widely divergent interpretations of the texts dealing with Ishmael's character and lifestyle. Traditional Jewish and Christian interpretations considered Ishmael to have been predestined to become an internecine fighter, as though he were some wild animal devouring his own kind. Ishmael's descendants were similarly destined to make raids against members of their extended family which would be scattered from the borders of Assyria to the borders of Egypt.

The translation presented in this study departs radically from these traditions. With the help of Arabic cognates a

number of Hebrew words can be recovered which permit (1) the angel’s announcement to Hagar about Ishmael (16:10–12) to be read as absolutely good news for everyone, and permit (2) Ishmael’s death-bed scene and family history (25:12–18) to speak of congenial family relationships, evidenced by Ishmael’s embracing his brethren just before he died.

The attempt has been made by a number of commentators to turn Ishmael’s label “a wild ass of a man” into some sort of a compliment. The Arabic cognate of פָּרָא “wild ass” is فَرَا (*fara*), about which is the saying “every kind a game is in the belly of the wild ass,” meaning “every animal is inferior to the wild ass,” as though the wild ass were a carnivore able to devour whatever it chooses (Lane 1877: 2357).

By making the wild ass the “king of the wastelands” it was supposedly equal to the lion’s being the “king of the jungle.” Skinner (1930: 287) suggested translating פָּרָא אָדָם as “the wild ass of humanity” and, in light of Job 39:5–8 (“who has let the wild ass go free . . .”) and Jer 2:24 (“a wild ass used to the wilderness . . .”), commented: “It is a fine image of the free intractable Bedouin character which is to be manifest in Ishmael’s descendants.” Skinner conjectured that the עַל-פָּנִים in 16:12 “seems to express the idea of defiance (as Jb 1:11 עַל-פָּנֵיךְ יִבְרֹכֶךָ [‘he will ‘curse’ thee to thy face’]), though it is not easy to connect this with the verb יִשְׁבֶּן [‘to dwell’].”

Similarly, von Rad (1961: 189) noted, “He will be a real Bedouin, a ‘wild ass of a man’ (*pere*’, zebra), i.e., free and wild (cf. Job 39.5–8), eagerly spending his life in a war of all against all—a worthy son of his rebellious and proud

mother!” Speiser (1964: 117–118) translated “He shall be a wild colt of a man, His hands against everyone, And everyone’s hand against him; And in the face of all his kin he shall camp.” Speiser identified Ishmael’s being a פֶּרַא with Joseph’s being a בֵּן פֶּרַת in Gen 49:22, which he translated as “wild colt.”¹ Speiser called attention to the Akkadian *lullū-awēlu* “savage of a man” as being a parallel expression. Appealing to the Hebrew בְּנֵי הַבָּכָר “in disregard of the (older) son of the unloved wife,” in Deut 21:16, Speiser took the עַל־פָּנִים (literally, “upon/against the face of”) in 16:18 to be an idiom meaning “in defiance/disregard of.”

However, the Hebrew פֶּרַא can also be from the stem פִּירָא “fruit” which is the cognate of Syriac פִּירָא (*pe’ra*) “fruit.” The usual spelling in Hebrew of “fruit” and “to bear fruit” is פְּרִי and פְּרִתָּה. But in Hosea 13:15 “he will be fruitful, have progeny” appears, as though the stem could be פֶּרַא as well as פְּרִתָּה).² Instead of meaning “wild ass human being” it may simply be another way of stating what appears unambiguously in Gen 17:20, “I will make him fruitful and exceedingly numerous (with the MT וְהַפְּרִיתִי equal to וְהַפְּרִיאִתִי). He will be the father of twelve chieftains; and I will make him a great nation.”

THE SEPTUAGINT TRANSLATION

καὶ τέξη σίδον καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ισμαὴλ
 . . . οὗτος ἔσται ἄγροικος ἀνθρωπος
 αἱ χεῖρες αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πάντας
 καὶ αἱ χεῖρες πάντων ἐπ’ αὐτόν

καὶ κατὰ πρόσωπον πάντων τῶν ἀδελφῶν
αὐτοῦ κατοικήσει

You shall bear a son and call his name Ishmael . . .

He shall be a countryman, his hands on all,

and the hands of all on him,

and he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren.

This Greek translation reflects a slightly different reading of the Hebrew. The phrase ἔσται ἄγροικος ἄνθρωπος, “he will be a countryman” (i.e. a rustic living in the wilderness) is obviously from a *Vorlage* reading בָּרָא “country, forest, prairie” (BDB 141; Jastrow 188–189) for the MT פָּרָא.³ The Greek text made the land wild rather than Ishmael.

The options suggested by this variant in the Septuagint has generally gone unnoticed in the commentaries. If the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint had בָּרָא, instead of the MT פָּרָא, and were בָּרָא the preferred reading, two Arabic cognates are of great interest. The first is بَرْ (barra) “he was pious [towards his father or parents, and towards God . . . and was kind, or good and affectionate and gentle in behaviour, towards his kindred; and kind, or good, in his dealings with strangers” (Lane 1863: 175). The angel’s announcement to Hagar that her son would become بָּרָא / בָּרָא may well have assured her that her son would show her due *filial piety* and manifest *godly devotion*. Such a prediction would have been a welcomed promise—compared to the bad news that her son would become a “wild ass” who would continually fight with his brothers.

Secondly, if the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint had בָּרָא and if it was the original reading, the Arabic cognate بَرَاء (bara') “free, secure, safe, free from disease, distress or debt”

(Lane 1863: 178–179) could provide further insight into what may well have been a *double entendre* in the original tradition. For the slave woman to be promised that her son would be free would have been great news, helping her make her own bondage bearable.

The Septuagint translators can be faulted for reading their text in light of the reality in their time. Because the Ishmaelites occupied the eastern מִדְבָּר “desert” they simply read the בֶּן / בֶּרֶא as the well attested synonym of מִדְבָּר, rather than the more rare בֶּרֶא / בֶּן “filial piety” and “free.”

INSIGHTS FROM ARABIC COGNATES

You shall bear a son; you shall call his name Ishmael . . .

He shall be a peacemaker, a reconciler—

his hand in everyone’s
and the hand of everyone in his;
and in the favor of all his brothers
he will dwell (*in tranquility*).⁴

(McDaniel)

The above translation recognizes the MT פָּרָע as the cognate of the Arabic verb فَعَ (fara'a) “he intervened, he made peace, or effected a reconciliation” and noun مُفْرِع (mifra') “one who interposes as a restrainer between persons [at variance] and makes peace or effects a reconciliation between them” (Lane 1877: 2378, 2380; Hava 1915: 558). For the well attested interchange of the פָּ and the מָ (which suggests that the MT פָּרָע could equal פָּרָע “peacemaker”), the following examples are noteworthy:⁵

- אָנֹם** and **עִגּוֹם** “to be sad”
אָוֶר and **עַוְרָה** “to turn”
בְּאֵל and **בְּגַעַל** “to pollute”
חָאָב and **חַעֲבָה** “to abhor”
גְּמָא and **גְּמַעַת** “to suck”
פְּחָתָם and **פְּחָתָעַ** “a moment.”⁶
פְּרוּעַ and **פְּרָאָה** “wild growth, wild”⁷

Moreover, given the interchange of נ and ה, the Arabic فُرْه (faruha) “he was skillful” and فَارِه (fārih) “skillful, beautiful, comely, agile, strong” (Lane 1877: 2390) would also be a contextually attractive alternative for the פְּרָאָה “wild ass.”

Support for reading the פְּרָאָה as a by-form of פְּרָעָה “peace-maker” comes from the Arabic أَدَم (‘adama) “he effected a reconciliation between them; brought them together, made them sociable, or familiar with one another . . . or to induce love and agreement between them” (Castell 1669: 41; Lane 1863: 35).⁸ Were נְפָרָא “peacemaker” the intended meaning, the מְנָדָה “reconciler” could have been added as a clarifying gloss. Or the redundant מְנָדָה פְּרָאָה “peacemaker” and מְנָדָה נְפָרָא “reconciler” could have been used together for emphasis.

Moreover, the Arabic أَدَم (‘idām) “the aider, and manager of the affairs . . . and right order of the affairs of his people,” as well as أَدَمَات (‘adamat) “the chief or provost of his people . . . the exemplar, or object of imitation, of his people or family, by means of whom they are known” (Lane 1863: 36) could well be the cognate of the מְנָדָה in this passage.⁹

The phrase יָדָו בְּכָל וַיַּד כָּל בֹּא in Gen 16:12, when taken literally (“his [Ishmael’s] hand *in* everyone’s and the hand of everyone *in* his”), further supports the idea of Hagar’s being given the good news that Ishmael would become a congenial person active in reconciliation. There is no need to interpret this phrase as evidence of widespread hostility in Ishmael’s or Abraham’s extended family¹⁰—unless the narrative is interpreted in order to accommodate later historical developments or legitimate current Near Eastern hostilities. Were the hand movement one of hostile intent, the preposition of choice would have been עַל “against,” not בְּ “in.” The “hand-in-hand” here may not be quite the same as a Western “handshake” or a “high-five,” but it certainly can be the equivalent of נִתְקֻשׁ, “to clap the hand” of someone as a ratifying gesture of agreement.

REARRANGING GENESIS 25:17–18

After naming the twelve sons of Ishmael in Gen 25:13–15, the MT of 25:16 provided a summary statement:

*These are the sons of Ishmael
and these are their names,
by their villages and by their encampments,
twelve princes according to their tribes.*

The next statement should be the one found in MT 25:18a:

*They [the sons of Ishmael] dwelt from Havilah
(as) you go to Assyria, as far as Shur
which is just before Egypt.*

Having thus dealt with the Ishmaelites (in what is now 25:12–16 and 25:18a), the narrator then focused on Ishmael himself in 25:17a, 18b, and 17b, as follows:

*These are the years of the life of Ishmael,
a hundred and thirty-seven years.
He embraced all his brethren,¹¹
then breathed his last and died,
and was gathered to his kindred.*

The phrase עַל־פָּנִי כָּל־אֶחָיו נִפְלָא in 25:18b has been variously translated. Speiser (1964: 187) rendered it, “and each made forays against his various kinsmen.” The *Torah* translation read the MT נִפְלָא “he fell” as a plural and settled for “they [the Ishmaelites] made raids against all their kinsmen.” The NRSV kept the singular and opted for “he [Ishmael] settled down along side of all his people,” with a footnote option for “down in opposition to” for the עַל־פָּנִי.

The translation proposed here, “he *embraced* all his brothers,” recognizes that נִפְלָא עַל־פָּנִי כָּל־אֶחָיו, “he fell upon the face of all his brothers,” is essentially the same idiom as that found in Gen 45:14, “and נִפְלָא עַל־צִוָּארֵי בְּנֵי מִן־אֶחָיו he embraced Benjamin his brother,” and exactly the same as that in Gen 50:1, “Joseph embraced his father.” Were these phrases taken literally (“he fell upon the neck/face of his brother/father”) it would mean that “Joseph assaulted his brother/father.” Such a translation could be lexographically correct, but otherwise ridiculous. Ishmael can surely be extended the same courtesy given to Joseph when the עַל־פָּנִי כָּל־אֶחָיו נִפְלָא of 25:18b is simply

recognized as the same idiom for an affectionate embrace—but with an inverted word order probably for emphasis.¹²

CONCLUSION

The angel’s word to Hagar that Ishmael would be a פֶּרֶא בָּרָא may not have been understood by Hagar as meaning “an onager man” or “wild ass human being.” It certainly did not mean that to the Septuagint translators. Serious exegesis of the Greek and Hebrew texts of Gen 16:10–12 requires careful consideration of a number Hebrew roots and definitions, most of which have survived as cognates in classical Arabic. These include:

- בָּרָא “forest, wilderness, country”
- בָּר “filial piety, kind to strangers, devotion to God”
- בָּרָא “free, secure, safe”
- פֶּרֶא “to bear fruit, to have progeny”
- פְּרֻעַ “a peacemaker”
- פְּרָה “beautiful, strong, comely, agile”
- אֲדָמָה “a reconciler, mediator”
- אֲדָמָה “a chief or provost of his people”
- שְׁכִינָה “quiet, calm, tranquil, peaceful”

Eight of these nine words carry explicitly positive meanings and would have been well received by any expectant mother as a good omen for her child. Only בָּרָא “wilderness” would be a neutral term; and only פֶּרֶא “onager” would have had definite negative connotations. Setting aside the three definitions above which are suggested by the Septuagintal variant, it seems quite likely that the angel’s words to Hagar included

a *double entendre* and carried multiple layers of meaning. Ishmael would be *prolific* (**אֶרְבָּה**) and become the *chief* and *provost* (**מִדְנָה**) of his tribe, setting the example as a *peace-maker* (**פֶּרֶע** = **פֶּרֶשׁ**) and *reconciler* (**מִדְנָה**).

As reconstructed (25:18b followed by 17:b), Ishmael “embraced all his brethren, then breathed his last and died, and was gathered to his kindred,” which suggests that Ishmael had been able to maintain peace among his tribes during his lifetime, which, no doubt, required some conciliatory efforts.

What happened after Ishmael’s death is a different story, and the post-Ishmael enmities which arose in Abraham’s extended family contributed to those translations of Gen 16: 10–12 and 25:17–18 which were controlled by that history, so as to assert that the inter-tribal violence was mandated from heaven. Quite to the contrary, the brief excerpts about Ishmael may have been designed to reshape that history of violence by hailing Ishmael as the exemplar of peace and reconciliation.

By enlarging the lexicons of standard Biblical (Judean) Hebrew through a study of Arabic cognates, it becomes a little easier to understand just what the angel said to Hagar and what it was that the narrator actually said about Ishmael. Far from being negative, derogatory, or inflammatory, the words about Ishmael and the Ishmaelites in Genesis were laudatory and compatible with the divine promise to Abraham that, through his progeny, “all the families of the earth shall be blessed” (Gen 12:3).

NOTES

1. Speiser related “the whole verse to fauna and not, with tradition, to flora.” Support for his argument comes from the Arabic بنات صعدة (*banātu ṣa^cdata*) “wild asses” (Lane 1872: 1688) which is the exact equivalent of the בָּנֹת צָעַרְתָּה in Gen 49: 22.
2. The Septuagint of Hos 16:12 reads διαστέλεῖ “division,” which reflects a *Vorlage* with יִפְרִיא for the MT יִפְרִיא (Wolfe 1974: 222). Compare the translation of Anderson and Freedman (1989: 625, 640), “He became the wild one among his brothers.” They parsed יִפְרִיא “to be wild” as an elative *Hiph'il* denominative of פֶּרָא “ass,” thereby disassociating it from פָּרִי / פָּרִיא “progeny, fruit.”
3. For the confusion of בָּ and בָּבָ, see Delitzsch 1920: 115, §118. The Arabic cognate of בָּרָא “wilderness” is بَرْ (barr) “desert(s), waste(s), uncultivated land without herbage or water” (Lane 1863: 166–167). Assuming the *Vorlage* had בָּרָא, it was read as a by-form of בָּרָא, similar to the by-forms of עַל and חַל stems cited by Gesenius (GKC §77°). Note also the occurrence of בָּרָא in Psa 2:11, discussed below in Chapter XIV.
4. The MT יִשְׁכַּן is the cognate of Arabic سُكَنٌ (*sakana*) which means not only “he inhabited, or dwelt, or abode,” but also “he became still, quiet, calm, tranquilized unruffled, peaceful” (Lane 1872: 1392–1393; Wehr 1979: 487–488).
5. The quiescence and/or the assimilation of the עַ is well attested in the name of the Phoenician goddess *Tanit* / *Tannit*, who was also known as *Anat* (עֲנָת). The name *Tanit* / *Tannit* (תָּנִית) was probably spelled originally חַנְנָת, from the stem עָנָת “to save,” to which was added a feminine הָ suffix and a הָ nominal prefix. Following the addition of the הָ noun prefix, the עַ was assimilated and **ta^cnt*

became *ta(n)nt*, which, with the anaptyctic vowel, became *tannit* (like **ba^al* > *ba^al* > **בָּלְ**). In the El Hofra texts **בָּאֵל** appears for **בָּעֵל** “lord” (see Berthier and Charlier, 1955, text 13:2).

6. Examples of the interchange of נ and ע in Arabic include (1) أَرْضٌ (^o*arada*) “he asked for, or petitioned for, a thing he wanted” and عَرْضٌ (^o*arada*) “he asked for, or petitioned for, a thing he wanted” (Lane 1863: 48; 1874: 2005) and (2) أَفْرَةٌ (^o*afurrat*) and عَفْرَةٌ (^o*afurrat*) “the beginning, or first part of the heat . . . or the vehemence thereof” (Lane 1877: 2356).

7. Jastrow 1213 and 1221, who cited *Midrash Rabbah* on Gen 16:12, “‘a savage among men’ in its literal sense, for all other plunder goods, but he (Edom-Rome) captures souls.”

8. Even the title **מֶנֶּאָן בָּן**, always rendered “the son of man,” may well mean “a reconciler.” In this case, the question which Jesus asked his disciples in Matt 16: 13 was originally not, “Who do men say that the Son of Man is?” but “who do men say *the reconciler* was?” This makes the disciples response (“some say John the Baptist, others say Elijah, and others Jeremiah or one of the prophets”) much more intelligible. Elijah was viewed in Mal 4:6 as the great reconciler “turning the hearts of the fathers to their children and the hearts of the children to their fathers.” The prophets, as illustrated by Ezekiel who was called **מֶנֶּאָן בָּן** repeatedly, were agents of reconciliation rather than messianic figures who were entitled “Son of Man,” as the title was employed in the intertestamental literature (for which see Klausner [1956]: 229–231, 291–292, 358–360).

9. The Hebrew **מֶנֶּאָן** “provost, commander” can be found in the Shem Tob Hebrew Gospel of Matthew (from around 1400 A.D.) in 8:9 where the Roman centurion said to Jesus

וְאַנִּי אָדָם חֹטָא וַיֵּשׁ לִי מִמְשָׁלֶת
תְּחִתְ יָדִי פִּירּוֹשִׁים וְפִרְשִׁים וְרוֹכְבִים

Although Howard (1995: 32–33) translated this as “I am a sinful man and I have authority under the Pharisees and [I have] horses and riders . . . ,” the text really means, “I am a provost/centurion (**אָדָם**), a nobleman (**חֹטָא**); and I have authority! Under my power are mounted-horsemen (**פִּירּוֹשִׁים** = *celeres*), equestrians (**פִּרְשִׁים** = *equites*), charioteers (**רוֹכְבִים** = *currus*)”

The **חֹטָא** does not mean “sinner” but is the cognate of Arabic **حَوَاطٌ** (*hawīt/hayyiṭ*) “a man who guards, protects, or defends” and the Aramaic **חַטִּי** “nobleman, one who lives in luxury” (Castell 1669: 1156; Lane 1865: 671; Jastrow 448).

10. Contra Ringgren (1974: 190) who stated succinctly “Ishmael will be an enemy to to his brothers (i.e., other tribes) (Gen. 9:25).”

11. See Ringgren (1974: 190) for a discussion on the use of **חָנָן** for one’s kinsmen or fellow tribesmen.

12. The Septuagint’s κατὰ πρόσωπον πάντων τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ κατώκησεν, “he dwelt before all his brothers,” reflects a *Vorlage* with זָבֵל “to dwell” (so translated in the KJV of Gen 30:20) for the MT נָפַל “to fall.”

IV

THE MEANING OF ABRAM AND ABRAHAM GENESIS 17:5

INTRODUCTION

וְאַתָּה יְהֹוָה אֱלֹהִים
אֶת־שְׁמְךָ כִּי אֲבָרָם
בְּנֵי אַבְרָהָם נְתַתִּיךְ

No longer shall your name be Abram,

but your name shall be Abraham;

for I have made you the father of a multitude of nations.

The name **אַבָּרָם** is commonly recognized as a compound of אָבָּא “father” and רָם “exalted,” the latter of which is from רָם “to be high, exalted” (BDB 4). Hollow verbs like רָוֹם often have a by-form in which a medial consonantal ה or נ appears in lieu of the vowel letters ו or י, such as:¹

בָּשָׁם	בָּהָת	“shame” (Aramaic)
דָּוִר	דָּהָר	“long time, age” (Arabic)
לוֹט	לָהָט	“secrecy” (Exo 7:11)
לוֹט	לָאָט	“secrecy” (Jud 4:21)
מוֹל	מָהָל	“to circumcise”
מוֹר	מָהָר	“to exchange”
נוֹר	נָהָר	“light, fire” and “to shine”
רוֹם	רָאָם	“to rise” (Zech 14:10)
רוֹץ	רָחָט	“to run” (Aramaic, Syriac)

Appreciation of these variants permits one to understand the commentators who *equate* the meaning of *Abram* and *Abraham*. For example, von Rad (1961: 194) concluded:

Here P [= Priestly writer] has certainly theologized a double tradition of the first patriarch's name, for the name "Abraham" is linguistically nothing else than a "lengthening" of the simpler "Abram," which means "my father [the god] is exalted."

About the same time Speiser (1964: 124) stated:

Linguistically, the medial *-ha-* is a secondary extension in a manner which is common in Aramaic. The underlying form *Abram* and its doublet *Abiram* [Num 16:1] are best explained as "the (not 'my') father is exalted . . ."²

ABRAM / אֶבְרָם

Although "exalted" is one meaning of the מִן of אֶבְרָם, it is not the only meaning. If the בְּ of אֶבְרָם is an epithet for God, as von Rad suggested, rather than a patronym, then "exalted" is probably the preferred definition. But not every name with בְּ refers to God. Such names as אֶבְיָסָף "my father gathered" and אֶבְיָשָׁג "my father is a wanderer" or אֶבְיָשָׁר "my father is a wall" are unlikely references to God. There is a good chance that the בְּ of אֶבְרָם referred to the patriarch himself, not to his father or ancestor or to God.

The Arabic cognate of רֵם/רָם could well be رَمْ (rām) "he went away, or departed : and he quit a place : and he ceased doing a thing" (Lane 1867: 1203–1204). If so, the name would be practically synonymous with אֶבְיָשָׁג "my father is a wanderer." If אֶבְרָם does mean "father departed," it would be a very fitting name for someone who obeyed the command in Gen 12:1 לֹךְ מִצְרַיִם וְלֹךְ וְמַבְּחִית כְּדַלְקָה מִאָרָצֶךָ וְמִבֵּית אֲבִיךָ, "go from your country and your kindred and your father's house." If "father departed" was the meaning of אֶבְרָם, the patriarch more than lived up to that name.

There is yet another possible derivation suggested by the Arabic cognate ريم (*raym*) “excess, superiority” (Lane 1867: 1204), which occurs in the expression لهذا ريم على هذا (*lihadâ raym ‘alay hadâ*) “this has superiority over this.” While Abraham may have been too modest to have appropriated the name “father is superior” for himself, his progeny certainly claimed this for him (and for themselves). But Israelites and Ishmaelites may not have been the only ones who laid claim to superiority through an ancestor. Skinner (1930: 292) noted, “The form אֶבְרָם is an abbreviation of אֶבְרִם . . . which occurs as a personal name not only in Heb. but also as that of an Ass. official (*Abîrâmu*) under Esarhad-don, B.C. 667” Similarly, Millard (1992) recognized, “The name ‘Aburahana’ [= Abraham] is found in the Egyptian Execration Texts of the 19th century B.C. (*m* and *n* readily interchange in Egyptian transcriptions of Semitic names).”

ABRAHAM / אֶבְרָם

Just as Speiser disagreed with Skinner, as noted above, Skinner (1930: 292) disagreed with Delitzsch (1887), making the following observations about the מֶרְהָם of אֶבְרָם:

The nearest approach to P’s explanation would be found in the Ar. *ruhām* = ‘copious number’ (from a ✓ descriptive of a fine drizzling rain: Lane, s.v.). De[litzsch] thinks this the best explanation; but the etymology is far-fetched, and apart from the probable accidental correspondence with P’s interpretation the sense has no claim to be correct.”

However, the etymology is not as far-fetched as Skinner thought. Long before Delitzsch (1887), Castell (1669: 3537) cited رهام (*ruhâm*) “a large number” as a cognate of מֶרְהָם “*numerus copiosus*” in his massive lexicon, a definition also noted by Lane (1867: 1171–1172). No commentator has yet

to suggest that the מֶלֶךְ אַבְרָהָם is related to the Arabic رَهُوم (rahûm) “a man weak in seeking, or searching, [to find what is best to be done;] who follows mere opinion.” But there would be an element of truth to such a derivation when it comes to Abraham’s indecisiveness in resolving the conflict between Sarah and Hagar.

Skinner’s objection to identifying מֶלֶךְ with رَهُام (*ruhâm*) stems from the fact that the word has to do primarily with a “drizzling and lasting rain” (= رِحْمَة [rihmat]), i.e., a lot of rain drops. However, opting for a “probable accidental correspondence” of מֶלֶךְ with رَهُام (*ruhâm*) was itself a far-fetched explanation. The innumerable drops of water in a drizzling rain are like the stars mentioned in Gen 15:5 (“look toward heaven, and number the stars, if you are able to number them . . . so shall your descendants be”) or the sand mentioned in Gen 22:17 (“I will indeed bless you, and I will multiply your descendants as the stars of heaven and as the sand which is on the seashore”). Therefore, in my opinion, the identification by Castell and Delitzsch of מֶלֶךְ with رَهُام (*ruhâm*) appears to be correct.

CONCLUSIONS

Although some of the older commentators preferred to view *Abram* and *Abraham* as two different individuals whose traditions had been blended together—and more recent exegetes have argued that *Abram* and *Abraham* are simply dialectally different names for the same individual—the proposal in this study has been to treat the names as two distinctly different names for the same person. The meaning of *Abram* can have three different meanings: (1) “father is exalted,” (2) “father departed,” and (3) “father is superior.”

On the other hand, the name *Abraham* appears to have had two well-defined meanings—unless with some humor intended “father is a drip” is proffered as a third choice—namely, (1) “father is indecisive in making decisions,” or (2) “father is prolific.” When the names are interpreted as referring to the patriarch, there is an element of truth in all five. Although the name *Abram* (“father is exalted”) could be a reference to the exaltedness of God, it could have simply meant “the patriarch departed,” or “the patriarch was superior.” The name *Abraham* made no reference to God since it meant “the patriarch was indecisive” and/or “the patriarch was prolific.” The latter definition would have support from *Sarai*’s name having been changed to *Sarah*—if שָׁרָה were vocalized as שָׁרָה and read as the cognate of Arabic تَرَى / تَرِى (tarrâ/ tari) “she became great in number or quantity/many, numerous” (Lane 1863:335), as suggested by Gen. 17:15, וְהִתְהַלֵּן “she will become nations.”

NOTES

1. See GKC 77^f and BDB, *sub voce*.
2. Speiser also clarified the fact that אֲבֹם “to exalt” and אֶחֱשָׂף “to love” must not be confuse when comparing Akkadian names. In disagreement with Skinner (cited below) Speiser noted:

the supposed Akk. cognate *Abam-rāmā* is not to be adduced, since it is unrelated and means “love the father” [*rāmā* = אֶחֱשָׂף “to love”] The underlying concept was probably much the same as in a king’s assumption of a special throne name. The event marked a new era. Such notices are not to be confused with frequent word plays on original names; or P’s own paronomasia on Isaac (1964: 124, 127).

V

THE INVIOABLE RELATIONSHIP OF MOSES AND ZIPPORAH EXODUS 4:24-26

INTRODUCTION

וַיְהִי בָּרוּךְ בַּמְלֹון וַיַּפְגַּשׁ הָנָה וַיַּבְקַשׁ הַמִּיתָּה:
וַתֵּקֶח צְפָרָה צָר וַתִּכְרֹת אֶת־עֲرָלָת בְּנָה וַתַּגְעַל לְרָנְלִי
וַתֹּאמֶר כִּי חַתְנָךְ מִים אַתָּה לִי:
וַיֹּרֶף מִמְּנוּ אָז אִמְרָה חַתָּן דְּמִים לְמוֹלִית:

At a lodging place on the way the LORD met him and sought to kill him. Then Zipporah took a flint and cut off her son's foreskin, and touched Moses' feet with it, and said, "Surely you are a bridegroom of blood to me!" So he let him alone. Then it was that she said, "You are a bridegroom of blood," because of the circumcision. (RSV)

ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἐν τῷ καταλύματι συνήντησεν αὐτῷ ἄγγελος κυρίου καὶ ἐζήτει αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι καὶ λαβοῦσα Σεπφωρα ψῆφον περιέτεμεν τὴν ἀκροβυστίαν τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτῆς καὶ προσέπεσεν πρὸς τοὺς πόδας καὶ εἶπεν ἔστη τὸ αἷμα τῆς περιτομῆς τοῦ παιδίου μου

Then it happened on the way at the inn that the angel of the Lord met him and sought to slay him; and Sephora having taken a stone cut off the foreskin of her son and fell at his feet and said, "The blood of the circumcision of my son is staunched."

Childs (1974: 95) rightly noted that "Few texts contain more problems for the interpreter than these few verses [4:24–26] which have continued to baffle throughout the centuries.

The difficulties cover the entire spectrum of possible problems.” Although the name Moses appears in the translations, it is not in the Hebrew text. After noting the ambiguity of the pronominal elements in these verses, Childs raised the question, “How is one to account for the irrational, almost demonic atmosphere in which blood seems to play an apotropaic role?”

Hyatt (1980: 87) responded to this question by simply affirming, “It is a very ancient primitive story that pictures a ‘demonic’ Yahweh.” He suggested, “The original story may have concerned a demon or deity of the boundary between Midianite territory and Egypt whom Moses failed to appease.” If this were the case, although the name Yahweh appears in the Hebrew text, it may not have been in the original account.

Propp (1993: 505) theorized a bit more bluntly, “Yahweh’s problem is that he has two irreconcilable plans for Moses: he wants both to dispatch him to Egypt to liberate Israel and to punish him for his old transgression [his killing the Egyptian]. . . . The result of this impasse is the quasi-schizophrenic behavior of the Deity.”¹

In the Septuagint (cited above) and in Jerahmeel (cited below) Yahweh is replaced by ἄγγελος κυρίου “the angel of the Lord,” before whose feet Zipporah fell and reported, “The blood of the circumcision of my son is staunched.” By contrast, the ‘demonic’ Yahweh is replaced by Satan (Mastema) in Jubilees 48: 2–3, which reads:

And thou [Moses] thyself knowest what He [God] spake unto thee on Mount Sinai, and what prince Mastema desired to do with thee when thou wast returning into Egypt <on the way when thou didst meet him in the lodging place>. Did he [Mastema] not with all his power seek to slay thee and deliver the Egyptians out of thy hand?” (Charles, II: 78–79).

One alleged reason for Yahweh’s attempt on Moses’ life is given in the Book of Jerahmeel 47:1–2,

They lodged at a certain place, and an angel came down and attacked him for his transgression of the covenant which God had made with Abraham His servant, in that he did not circumcise his eldest son, and he wanted to slay him. Zipporah then immediately took one of the sharp flint stones which she found there and circumcised her son, and she rescued her husband from the power of the angel (Gaster, 1971: 122).

In this tradition, as well as in the Targumin,² the blood flow from circumcision served as atoning sacrificial blood. With variations, this interpretation satisfied many Christian and Jewish interpreters over the centuries.

Jacob (1992: 109), called attention to an alternative interpretation which he found more convincing. He stated:

The best explanation which we have yet found was given by Ibn Ezra [1089–1164] and Luzatto [*Commentary on the Pentateuch*, 1849], who stated that God was angry because Moses had taken his wife and children along when he should have devoted himself completely to his mission (compare Deut 33.8 f.) . . . [Zipporah] wishes to remain united with her husband during the long period of separation through the blood of her son whom she has circumcised.

The long term effect of this story, according to Jacob (1992: 110), is that “each *b’rit mi-lah* [covenant of circumcision] renews and reaffirms the marriage bond. In fulfilling this command, the couple again celebrates their wedding . . .”

Although Jacob made this claim for the close tie between circumcision and marriage without supporting evidence, he pointed the interpreter in the right direction. A fresh look at Exodus 4:24–26, free from all the traditional speculation—as though the text had just been excavated—permits a radically different translation.

AN ALTERNATIVE TRANSLATION

Simply by (1) relocating the MT מִמְּנָיו (“from him”) to the preceding line, (2) repointing the verbs הַמֵּיתוּ (“to make him die”) and נִירָא (“he sank, he withdrew”), (3) identifying these two verbs with Arabic cognates which have gone unnoticed in current Hebrew lexicons, and (4) adding one vowel letter, the verses can be translated

At a lodging place on the way, the LORD met him and he sought to make inviolable his relationship, whereupon Zipporah took a flint and cut off the prepuce of her son, touching it to Moses’ groin while saying “Indeed, you are a blood relative to me!” (They became irrevocably bonded when she said “You are a blood relative by circumcision!”)

The MT הַמֵּיתוּ, at first glance, appears to be the *Hiph’îl* infinitive of מוֹת “to die,” with a 3ms suffix. But (or הַמִּית = *scriptio defectiva*), sans suffix, could be the *Hiph’îl* infinitive of מִתְחַת, given the fact that עַיְלָה and עַיְלָה verbs share a number of identical forms (GKC § 77^{a-b}). The proposed stem מִתְחַת would be analogous in form to the stem חַמְמָם (BDB 1070), the *Hiph’îl* infinitive of which is חַתְמָם (*scriptio plene* = חַתְמִים). Thus, מִתְחַת or הַמִּית could be the *Hiph’îl* infinitive of מוֹת הַמִּית or הַמִּית would be the *Hiph’îl* infinitive of מוֹת “to die.” The consonantal texts would be the same.

The stem מִתְחַת is not cited in the current standard Hebrew lexicons, but it was cited in the two folio volumes of *Lexicon Heptaglotton* by Edmund Castell (1669) in column 2166. He considered the names Ammitai (אַמְּתַחְיָה / Αμαθι in Jonah 1:1) and Matthew (Μαθθαῖον / מִתְחַתְּיָה in Matt 9:9) to be derived from this stem.³ Castell cited cognates of this vocable in Ethiopic and Arabic. The semantic range of these cognates

includes “husband (*maritus*), fiancé / bride-groom (*sponsus*), fiancée / bride (*sponsa*), i.e., the betrothed (as in Matt 1:19), a mixed marriage (*miscuit*), an extended household (*familiam saturavit*), and a blood relative whom one cannot marry (*gradus consanguinitatis, ob quem connubium non potest iniri*). The Arabic cognate مَتْ (matta), according to Lane (1885: 2687c–2688a) means “he sought to bring himself near [to another], or to approach [to him], or to gain access [to him], or to advance himself in [his] favour by relationship . . . by affection, or by love.” The noun مَاتَّةٌ (mâttat) means “anything that is sacred or inviolable . . . that which renders one entitled to respect and reverence . . . a thing whereby one seeks to bring himself near.” The example Lane cited was بَيْنَنَا رَحْمٌ مَاتَّةٌ (baynanâ rahim mâttat) “between us is a near/inviolable relationship.”

These definitions survive down to the present in modern literary Arabic, as noted by Wehr (1979: 1045) who rendered مَتْ (matta) as “to seek to establish a link to someone by marriage, become related by marriage, . . . to be associated, to be connected with, . . . to be most intimately connected with someone.” Similarly, the noun مَاتَّةٌ (mâttat) retains the meaning of “close ties, family ties, kinship.”

In light of this evidence, it seems quite obvious the phrase יִבְקַשׁ יְהוָה הַמִּיתָּה could be translated “Yahweh sought to make inviolable his relationship” [or “his marriage”]. The phrase need not be read as the the equivalent of וַיִּבְקַשׁ הַמֶּלֶךְ הַמִּיתָּה “the king sought to kill him” (in Jer 26:21). Given the fact that the Midianite Zipporah would be an outsider in Egypt—among the Hebrews as well as among the Egyptians—her relationship to Moses could have become very tenuous, like that of Moses’ Ethiopian wife (see Num 12:1). Thus, far from being a “primitive story that pictures a

‘demonic’ Yahweh” (see above), Yahweh was “angelic”—so to speak—insuring the marital status of Zipporah once she left her homeland.

The preposition מִמֶּנּוּ “from him,” which in the MT modifies the verb וַיַּרְא, (“he withdrew *from him*”), fits equally as well in the preceding line as the modifier of וַיִּקְרֹת “she cut,” i.e., “she cut off *from him*.” This relocation of the modifier makes it clear that Zipporah performed a prepuceotomy rather than a preputiotomy; i.e., it was more than just an incision.

Once the מִמֶּנּוּ is removed from being the modifier of וַיַּרְא, it becomes difficult to give וַיַּרְא the nuanced meaning “to withdraw from, to let one alone” instead of its more basic meaning “to sink, to relax” (BDB 951–952, רָפֵה). However, וַיַּרְא is probably not from the verb רָפֵה, but from רָפָא, stem II—not to be confused with רָפֵא, stem I, “to heal” and its cognate رَفَعَ (rafâ / rafû) “to darn, to mend, to repair” (BDB 950; Lane 1867: 1129). The loss of the final נ of the נְלֵבֶת verb, resulting in וַיַּרְפָּא instead of וַיַּרְפֵּא, was quite common (see GKC § 74^k).

The Arabic رَفَعَ (rafâ) also means “he effected a reconciliation, or made peace between them,” and “he married, or took a wife.” It is used in extending a felicitous greeting to those getting married, as in the expression “may the marriage be with close union (رِفَاعٌ [rifâ ‘un]), etc., and constancy and the begetting of sons not daughters” (Lane 1867: 1117–1118, 1129). Wehr (1979:403) renders the felicitation to newlyweds as “live in harmony and beget sons!” Lane also noted that the reflexive form VI of رَفَعَ (rafâ / rafû) means “they agreed together to do the thing, they aided or assisted one another, they were of one mind and opinion, . . . their stratagem and their affair being one.”

Arabic has three words for in-laws: (1) أخيان ('aḥtān) “the relations on the side of the wife”; (2) أحماء ('ahmā') “relations on the side of the husband”; and (3) أصحاب ('aṣḥār) “relations on either side” (Lane 1865: 650, 704; 1872: 1737). The Hebrew of חתן דמים is the cognate of the first of these. Whereas חתן means “bridegroom” or “daughter’s husband,” much like its Syriac cognate حatan (*hātan*) “in-law, to marry or to intermarry” (J. Payne Smith 1957: 164), the Arabic cognate حين (*hatana*) also means “to circumcise,” suggesting that the bride’s father circumcised the prospective bridegroom.

Zipporah’s circumcision of her son guaranteed that her son would be recognized as a Hebrew when they (mother and son) joined their new Hebrew relatives in Moses’ family in Egypt. At the same time, by touching the severed prepuce to Moses’ groin, Zipporah vicariously circumcised her husband. This act was significant not only as a religious exercise on Moses’ behalf, it was an act which also elevated her to being vicariously a “blood” relative to Moses as she ventured into Moses’ Hebrew clan. Though Midianite, she was now symbolically a *blood* relative, perhaps in a way that Moses’ Cushite wife was not. The circumcision provided her and her son with immunity from isolation, as well as *bonding* her relationship with Moses as a *blood* relative. Instead of interpreting Zipporah’s actions as an effort to save Moses’ life, her actions were aimed at saving her marriage and her family.

In light of the Arabic form VI, noted above, Moses and Zipporah were on a *joint* mission. Far from there being a רפה “a withdrawal” of anyone, it was a נפקה “a bonding together, a close union, a harmonious marriage,” with shared visions, opinions, and stratagem. Such an understanding makes Zipporah’s exclamation, כִּי חַתְנָדָמִים אַתָּה לִי “Surely you are a bridegroom of blood to me,” reasonable. The redactor’s

gloss in 4:26, “**וַיַּרְפֵּא אֹזֶן מִקְרָבָה חֲתָן דָּמִים לְמַוְלָתָה**” “they became irrevocably bonded when she said ‘You are a blood relative by circumcision,’” likewise, becomes intelligible. The shift to the plural “they” for the singular “he” in the MT and the versions (be it for the deity, for an angel, or for Mastema) is a simple case of *scriptio defectiva*, suggesting perhaps an early date for this tradition since final vowel letters were customarily omitted in the oldest orthography.

CONCLUSION

Childs (1974: 98), in a critique of the proposal of Kosmala (1962: 14–28), asked the question, “What circle within Israel would have treasured a ‘Zipporah cycle?’” with “its original Midianite—that is Arabic—meaning.” The answer seems very obvious: the children and grandchildren of Moses by Zipporah, namely, Gershom, Eliezer, and Jonathan ben Gershom ben Mosheh. It is noted in Judges that “Jonathan and his sons were priests to the tribe of the Danites until the day of the captivity of the land” (Exo 2:22; 18:3; Judges 18:30–31). A priest with the stature of Jonathan ben Gershom ben Mosheh could easily have introduced a tradition about his grandmother’s inviolable relationship with his grandfather—even in the dialect of his grandmother!⁴

One need not anticipate that a tradition perpetuated at Shiloh and Dan would have been in the Judean / Jerusalem Hebrew dialect, which has provided the base for standard Hebrew lexicons. Dialectal fragments survive in the Hebrew Scriptures, with the *Song of Deborah* in Judges 5 (in a Kenite dialect) being a lengthy one, and the *Words of Agur* in Pro 30: 1–5 (in the dialect of Massa, a tribe in Arabia) being a shorter one. This writer would add Exodus 4:24–26 to the list of dialectal fragments, necessitating a careful examination and application of Arabic cognates in the interpretation and translation of the text—as offered in this study.

“Why did Yahweh want to cause Moses to die?” and “How could Zipporah’s actions have saved Moses?” are not the first questions to be asked. Prior to those questions must be this question: “What are the options for identifying all the roots / stems in this narrative?” When the standard lexicons offer very limited options resulting in incredulous statements and interpretations which strain the imagination (such as those briefly summarized and critiqued by Childs [1974: 96–98]), comparative philology may provide reasonable solutions. Such is the case, I believe, in the interpretation of Exodus 4:24–26, resulting in this translation, repeated here by way of summary:

At a lodging place on the way, the LORD met him and he sought to make inviolable his relationship, whereupon Zipporah took a flint and cut off the prepuce of her son, touching it to Moses’ groin while saying “Indeed, you are a blood relative to me!” (They became irrevocably bonded when she said “You are a blood relative by circumcision!”)

This interpretation of Exo 4:24–26 provides the requisite support for Jacob’s contention (1992: 110, noted above) that the long term effect of this story is that “each *b’rit mi-lah* renews and reaffirms the marriage bond. In fulfilling this command, the couple again celebrates their wedding . . .” As Propp noted, “In its current context, Exod. iv 24–6 describes an awesome rite of family solidarity performed on the eve of the Exodus. It simultaneously marks a boy’s initiation into the people of Israel and his parents’ passage into the state of parenthood.”¹

NOTES

1. Propp further noted (1993: 505), “The logical inference is that Moses’ attempt to return home [to Egypt] with un-expiated blood-guilt upon him elicits Yahweh’s attack.” But it seems a bit illogical

for the Deity to hold Moses' under a death penalty for slaying *one* Egyptian in the past when Moses' mission to free the Israelites will eventuate shortly in the death of *every* firstborn in Egypt (Exo 12:30), not to mention the destruction of Pharaoh's army at the Sea of Reeds.

2. Targum Neophyti (Macho 1970), for example, reads as follows:

And it happened on the way, in the resting-house, that an angel from before the Lord overtook him and sought to kill him. And Zipporah took a flint and cut off the foreskin of her son and brought it near the feet (Margin = “and cast it beneath the feet of”) the Destroyer and said: ‘In truth the bridegroom sought to circumcise but the father-in-law did not permit him, and now may the blood of this circumcision atone for the sins of this (his? her? its?) bridegroom.’ And the angel (Margin = the destroying angel; behold then [s]he gave praise) let him alone. Then Zipporah gave praise and said: ‘How beloved is the blood of this (circumcision) that delivered this (his?) bridegroom from the hand(s) of the angel of death.

3. Other lexicographers have generally derived אַמְתִּי “Amitai” from אָמַן “to confirm, to support” (which is related to the exclamatory “Amen!”) and its noun form אַמְתָּה “truth” (BDB 54); and מַתְתִּיא “Mattathiah/Matthew” has been derived from the verb נָתַן “to give” and the noun מַתָּה “gift” (BDB 682).

4. Kosmala (1962:14), like most other scholars, never challenged the traditional meaning of the text. He commented

However, it must be pointed out the Hebrew of the three verses appears grammatically simple and clear, nothing is wrong with it, nothing is wanting. The actual difficulties come from the context in which the verses are embedded.

But he is forced to recognize the difficulty of the Hebrew, when (on page 26) he raised the questions:

What does the expression *ḥ^atan-damim* mean? It is unique in Hebrew usage, it does not occur elsewhere. . . . What, then, is the *ḥ^atan-damim*? Is he a bridegroom after all, or, if not, how shall we understand that double expression?

5. See Propp's article (1993: 515–516) for examples of the blending of circumcision and marriage rites and festivities in Arab lands and in Islam. I cannot concur with Propp's final conclusion that ". . . Zipporah performs an act that implicitly equates father and child, binding the generations through the bloodied organ of generation." This is unnecessary speculation.

VI

ENDING THE ENIGMA OF AZAZEL LEVITICUS 16: 8, 10, 26

INTRODUCTION

Noth (1965: 125) conceded that “the figure of Azazel [in Leviticus 16] remains an enigma,” and Levine (1989: 102) concurred stating, “The precise meaning of Hebrew ‘aza’zel, found nowhere else in the Bible, has been disputed since antiquity and remains uncertain even to the present time.” However, appeal to several Arabic cognates heretofore ignored when attempting to interpret Lev 16:8–26, may resolve many of the difficult problems related to the etymology of *Azazel*.

In the Septuagint *Azazel* was not read as a name but as a common noun translated ἀποπομπαίω (16:8), ἀποπομπαίου (16:10), and ἀποπομπήν (16:10), meaning “sending away, carrying away” (Liddell and Scott 213).¹ Similarly, in 16:26, *Azazel* was read as a compound of עזֵל “to separate” and “to go away” and rendered τὸν χίμαρον τὸν διεσταλμένον εἰς ἄφεσιν “the goat separated for release.” Nor did the Vulgate read *Azazel* as a name but as עז “goat” and אַזְלָל “departing,” which became *capro emissario* (16:8) and *caprum emissarium* (16:10) “a goat [that] departs.”

The Targum Pseudo-Jonathan (Clark 1984: 138) took *Azazel* to be the place name of the scapegoat’s destination:

וְצִפְרָא דְסֶלִיךְ עַלְיוֹ עֲדָבָא² לְעַזָּאֶל יְתֻוקָם
בְּחִין קָדָם יְיָ לְכִפְרָא עַל סָורְחָנוֹת עַמָּא בֵּית
יִשְׂרָאֵל לְשָׁדְרָא יְתִיה לִימָמָת בָּאָתָר חֲקִיעִי

וְקַשִׁי דְבָמֶדְבָּרָא דְצֹוק דְהֹוָא בֵית הַדּוֹרִי⁴
 (Lev 16:10)
 לְמַדְבָּרָא דְצֹוק וַיְסֻקֵּן צְפִירָא עַל טוֹרְרִיא
 בֵית הַדּוֹרִי⁴ וַיַּדְחַנֵּיהָ רֹוח זִיקָא
 מִן קָרְם יְיָ וַיּוּמֹת³
 (Lev 16:22)

And the goat on which came up the lot for *Azazel* he shall make to stand | alive before the Lord, to expiate for the sins of the people of the house | of Israel, by sending him to die in a place rough | and hard in the rocky desert which is *Beth-hadurey* (Lev 16:10). . . . to a rocky desert; and the goat will go up on the mountains of | *Beth-hadurey*, and a tempestuous wind from the presence of the Lord will carry him away and he will die (Lev 16:22).⁴

The *Beth-hadurey* / “**בֵית הַדּוֹרָא**” “the place of a steep hill, spiral road” (Jastrow 1903: 332–333) is a place name analogous to the **בֵית הָרָן** (= *Tel er-Râm*) in Num 32:36, with the **הַדּוֹרָא** being the singular of the **הַדּוֹרִים** “hills, swelling places, land swells” mentioned in Isa 45:2, which the Septuagint translated simply as ὄρη “mountains,” whereas the KJV opted for “crooked places.”⁵ It would be a synonym of **צֹוק** “peak, precipice” (Jastrow 1270). The need not mean a particular precipice, but any precipice, just as **עַזָּזֵל** was considered to be any hard, rough, rocky, desert mountain or height.

References to *Azazel* in the Talmud (*Yoma* 67^b) and Midrash (*Sifra*, *Aḥare* 2:8.) treated it as a compound noun rather than as a name. Two phrases are quite clear: **עַזָּזֵל שִׁיחָא** and **עַזָּזֵל קַשָּׁה** which were translated by (1) Jung (1938: 316) as “Azazel—it should be hard and rough”

and “Azazel, i.e., the hardest of mountains” and (2) by Goldschmidt (1933: 946–947) as “*Āzazel, er muss fest und hart sein*” and “*Āzazel ist der höchste unter den Bergen.*” Goldschmidt and Jung read the הַ of עַזָּאֵל עַזְּאֵל “strong, firm, rough,” clarified by its synonym קָשָׁה “hard, severe, strong” (Jastrow 1060, 1429), which required them to dismiss the אַזְּאֵל element of עַזְּאֵל.

CLUES FROM ARABIC COGNATES

The Arabic cognates أَزْل (^o*azala*) and عَنْز (^c*anz*), not mentioned in other studies of *Azazel*, permit the following translation of the phrases from *Yoma* 67^b: (1) עַזְּאֵל שְׂדָה אָזֶל وְקָשָׁה אַזְּל, “*Azazel which must be a rugged height and harsh*” and (2) עַזְּאֵל קָשָׁה שְׁבָרִים, “*Azazel is any harsh place which is in the mountains.*” These two cognates permit the interpreter to account for *Azazel* being described in the MT, the Targum and the Talmud as מִדְבָּר “wilderness,” הַדּוֹרָא “rugged land, hill, precipice,” and נִזְרָה “precipice,” along with the modifiers קָשָׁה and תְּקִינָה “hard, harsh, rough, and rocky.”

Castell (1669: 73) included in his citation of Hebrew/Aramaic these Arabic cognates: أَزْل (^o*azala*) “in angustia statūs, vel anni inopia verstatus fuit”; أَزِل (^c*azil*) “angustia summa, penuria & sterilitas”; and مَازِل (*ma^ozil*) “locus arctus & angustus.” Lane (1863: 53–54) cited أَزْل (^o*azala*) “he became in the state of straitness, or narrowness, and suffering from dearth, or drought or sterility,” and the nouns (1) أَزْل (^o*azl*) “straitness, distress, difficulty, drought, or want of rain,” (2) أَزِل (^c*izl*) “a calamity,” (3) أَزْل (^c*azil*) “straitness, severe, or vehement stress, distress, or difficulty,” and (4) مَازِل (*ma^ozil*) “the place where the means of subsistence are strait,

or narrow.”⁶ The אַזָּל of עַזָּאַזֶּל could be the cognate of this Arabic stem (used as a modifier of the עַז of עַזָּאַזֶּל), as well as the אַזָּל which was a by-form עַזְלָ (= ^cazala) “he removed, he separated,” as understood by the Septuagint translators. Thus, עַזָּאַזֶּל could have had multiple meanings.

The עַז of עַזָּאַזֶּל has yet to be accurately identified. It could be derived from עַז (עֹז) “strength, fortitude,” or עַז (עֲזָז) “strong, firm,” or עַז (עֲזָן) “goat.” Lane (1874: 2173) cited عنز (^canz) “she-goat”⁷ (which with the נ assimilated is the cognate of עַז “she-goat”) and the homograph and homophone “an eminence, or hill, such as is termed אֲקָמָת (^cakamat) . . . land having in it ruggedness and sand and stones . . .⁸ Both Arabic cognates may clarify the עַז of עַזָּאַזֶּל. The first عنز (^canz) (= עַז) is the synonym of باطل (bâṭil) “bad, worthless, useless; applied to a man and to anything.”⁹ It is this עַז (= עַז) which was recognized in the Targum and Talmud as a הַדּוֹרָא “desert, wilderness” or as a מִדְבָּר “rugged land, hill, precipice.”¹⁰ The Vulgate, as noted, read the עַז as עֲזָן “goat.”

Elsewhere, עַז appears in Jer 51:53 as a synonym of חֵל “hill, city-mound.” The MT וְכִי חַבֵּצָר מִרְוָם עַזָּה though she [Babylon] fortify the height of her strength” (KJV) would be better translated as “though she make inaccessible the top of her tel (i.e., עַזָּה).”

Moreover, the עַתִּי “timely” of Lev 16:21 (paraphrased variously as “fit” [KJV], “who is in readiness” [RSV], “designated for the task” [NRS]) could well be the cognate of Arabic أَعْتَى (^cittiyy) / أَعْتَى (^ca'ṭay) “a man who transgressed the commandment of God,” as used in the *Qur'an* (*Sura* 51:44), “they rebelled against their Lord's decree” and عَاتٍ (^cāti) “inordinately proud or corrupt” (Lane 1874: 1951). Taking the

scapegoat into the wilderness would have contaminated anyone who was righteous or purified previously. Therefore the goat would be dispatched “**בַּיָּד־אִישׁ עָתִי / עָתִי**” “by the hand of an *extremely corrupt man*” (Lev 16:21) who would have to “wash his clothes, and bathe his flesh in water” (Lev 16:26) as an act of purification before he could enter the community upon his return from the harsh rugged mountain terrain.

ALTERNATIVE INTERPRETATIONS

Some have proposed that *Azazel* can be derived from עזאל, the cognate of Arabic *‘azāz* (“hard rugged ground . . . and the acclivities of mountains and [hills or eminences such as are termed] أَكَامٌ (*‘akām*)” (Lane1874: 2032). This derivation requires (1) the ל of עזאל to be a formative addition (like the ل of ברזל “iron” and ברזיל “garden”)¹¹ and (2) the א in עזאל to be a disposable “unessential aleph,” thus reducing עזאל to עז, which could be identified with the גרא “barren region” of Lev 16:22. But the elimination of two of the five letters of עזאל is very problematic. A better option would be to restore עזאל to עזאל, i.e., אָזָל “hard, harsh, difficult, distressful” and עז “rugged sloping terrain.”

Others have proposed that *Azazel* resulted from the metathesis of the א and the ז in the name which must have been written originally as עזאל “fierce god,” a spelling which appears in the Qumran texts. This “fierce god” became identified with the name Azmaveth (עַזְמַוֶּת) of 2 Sam 23:31, which was thought to mean “Mot [= Death] is fierce” (עַזְתָּה). Subsequently, the god Mot (=“Death is fierce”) became

identified with the name of *Azazel* (= “God is fierce”), resulting in the demotion of Mot from being a deity to being just a demon which became known as *Azazel*.

In the intertestamental literature *Azazel* was recognized as one of the “sons of God” who, according to Genesis 6 and Enoch 6, abandoned their heavenly *habitation* for the their *cohabitation* with earthly women.¹²

Milgrom (1991: 44, 1020–1024) argued for *Azazel* being the name of an “eviscerated” demon who lost his personality and became transformed simply into the name of the place to which the scapegoat carried Israel’s sins and impurities—similar to Wright’s conclusion (1992) that the demon’s name was “a place-holder representing the geographical goal of the scapegoat’s dispatch.” Levine (1991: 102), by contrast, preferred to promote *Azazel* to the rank of a demonic ruler of the wilderness, much like the שָׂעִירִים “goat-demons, satyrs” mentioned in Lev 17:7.

The claim by Levine (1989: 102) and Milgrom (1991: 1020) that the initial ל of לְעֵזֶל is the *lamed auctoris*, rather than the equivalent of the locative ה of the following modifier הַמְרֻבָּה, would have one goat “belonging to *Azazel*” and one “belonging to the Yahweh,” supposedly providing a kind of parity of possession by two unequal supra natural beings. But both goats were “earmarked” for the Yahweh and both were marked for death. One was to die upon the altar as a sin offering to Yahweh (לִיהוָה וּשְׁהָוּ חֹטָאת); the other was to make atonement before Yahweh (לִפְנֵי יְהוָה לִכְפֵּר עַל־יִ) as a scapegoat to be dispatched in due time to the wilderness where it would die of straits and distress or perish—falling or thrown—from a precipice, thereby taking all the sins of Israel into oblivion.¹⁴

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Contrary to the opinion of a number of commentators past and present¹⁵ that the *Azazel* in Leviticus 16 refers to a demon to which a scapegoat was dispatched, there is sound philological evidence for interpreting it—as in the Targum and Talmud—as a topographical term having nothing to do with demons. Hebrew עזאל can be recognized as a compound of עז “rugged peak” and אזל “difficult, distressful, dearth,” with the אזל being the modifier of the עז. At one time, as suggested by the translations in the Septuagint and Vulgate, the text may well have been לעז אזל, with a space between the noun and its modifier.¹⁶ Once the space disappeared in the textual tradition, the topographical designation עז אזל became easily confused with names like עזאל (*Aza²el*), עזיל (*Azazēl*), and עזאל (*Azaz²el*) (4Q 180; 11Q Temple 26:13), which triggered an easy association with the names of the rebellious angels listed in Enoch 6, which, in turn, made it easy to identify the *Azazel* with the world of demons and demoted deities.

The enigma of *Azazel* in Leviticus 16 can thus be resolved by philology rather than by demonology. A careful examination of Arabic cognates can help in the recovery of meanings of words which have yet to be included in the standard lexicons of Biblical Hebrew—words which were clearly understood by the contributors to the Targum and the Talmud, though unknown to most of the interpreters of these texts. In the case of the *Azazel* tradition in Leviticus 16 (both the MT and the Vorlage of the Septuagint), the following Hebrew terms need to be added to the lexicon:

אַזָּל	“straits, distress, hard, harsh, severe, calamity”
דָּוֵד	“to remove, to repell (from sacred territory)”
לְזִלְלָה	“slippery ground”
חַדְרָה	“slope, declivity, descent”
עַזְזֵל	“rugged height, stony hill, precipice, mound, tel”
עַזָּזֶה	“hard rugged ground, mountain slope”
עַזְלָה	“to remove, to separate”
עַתְּהִ	“corrupt, rebellious, unbelieving, disobedient.”

NOTES

1. Given the interchange of the ע and the נ of the nouns אַיְזָלָא and עַיְזָלָא, both of which mean a “web” or “net” (Jastrow 1903: 46, 1062), the אַזָּל of עַזָּזֶל was probably read by the Greek translator as the by-form עַזְלָה, the cognate of عَزَلَ (azala) “he removed, he separated” and its derivative عَزْلَة (uzlat) “a going apart, away, or aside; a removal or separation” (Lane 1874: 2036–2037). The Greek translation could reflect both אַזָּל and עַזְלָה, with its *Vorlage* having what appeared to be a redundant לְעַזְלָה “for separation removal,” rather than the MT לְעַזָּזֶל.

2. The Targum Onkelos rendered the name as עַזְזֵיל.

3. Compare Ryder’s Hebrew translation of the Targum:

... אל מקום תחו ושלח את השער למדבר צוק
ויעלה השער על ההרים של בית הדורי
וירחנו רוח סופה מלפני ה' וימות

... unto a wasteland, and he sent the goat to a wilderness peak | and the goat went up upon the mountains which are Beth Hadurey | and a consuming wind of the LORD cause it to slip, and it died.

4. Mr. Gilad Gevaryahu, who recently sparked my interest in trying to solve the problems related to Azazel, kindly provided me with the quotations from Ryder (in note 4) and from Clark (on page 47). In addition to the **חַדּוֹרִי** cited by Jastrow (1903: 333) and Clarke (1984: 138) meaning “hill, spiral road” are these several variants:

- (1) **חַדּוֹרִי**, cited by Sokoloff (1992: 216), which would be the cognate of Arabic حَدَرْ (*hadar*) “he made to descend,” and its derivatives حَدَّوْرَ (*hadûr*) “declivity, slope, a place of descent” and حَيْدَرَةً (*haydarat*) “destruction, perdition” (Lane 1865: 530), which would support the tradition that the goat was thrown down from the mountain to its death.
- (2) **חַרְוֹרִי** “set free,” suggesting that the animal was released/set free in the barren terrain where it—and the sins transferred to it—would surely perish.
- (3) **חַדּוֹדָאֵל** (= Dûdâél in Enoch 10:4, for which see Charles 1913: 193, n. 4). The Arabic cognate for the **חַדּוֹדָאֵל** of דָוָדָאֵל is probably ذَادٌ / دُودٌ (*dâid* / *dâd*) “he repelled, he drove away,” used for example for removing someone or something from sacred territory (Lane 1867: 987).

- 5. The Vulgate reads *gloriosos terrae*, as if the text were **אֲדִירִים**
- 6. The Arabic أَذَلْ (*azal*) also means “eternity with respect to past time, or considered retrospectively; existence from eternity; or ancientness . . . or ever in all past times” (Lane 1863: 54), which precludes it from being used for the idea of everlasting, which is expressed by أَبَدٌ (*abad*) “time, or duration or continuance, or existence, without end; endless time, etc.; prospective eternity” (Lane 1863: 4). Thus, *Azazel* could not have been an “eternal goat” **עַזְזֵל** (*azzel*) which carried away the sins of Israel forever.

7. The Arabic عنز (*‘anz*) was also used for the female eagle, the female vulture, the female bustard, and the female hawk. This suggests that the עז definitely means a “she-goat,” which would require the feminine איזלָה for עזאַזֶל to mean “the she-goat went away,” as in the Vulgate’s *capro emissario*. The MT of Lev 16:10, לְעֵז אַזְלָה הַמִּרְבְּךָה, could readily be divided to read **לְעֵז אַזְלָה הַמִּרְבְּךָה**, which would provide the requisite feminine adjective.

8. Lane (1863: 73) defined أكمات (*akamat*) as “a hill, or a mound, a synonym of تل (*tel*) . . . a place that is more elevated than what is around it, and is rugged, not to the degree of being stone; or an isolated mountain . . . rising into the sky, abounding in stones.”

9. The fact that the plural of the synonym باطل (*bâṭil*) signifies “devils” (Lane 1863: 219) may have contributed, directly or indirectly, to עזאַזֶל being interpreted as a demon.

10. The Arabic زل (*zil*) “smooth stone” and زل (*zul*) “slippery ground” (Lane 1867: 1242; Hava 1915: 293) may be relevant by-forms of זל / איזל which could explain *Azazel* appearing in Targum Onkelos as עזזיל which could also be read as a “slippery (stony) precipice” (عز זול or עז זיל).

11. See GKC 85^s.

12. See especially Enoch 6:1–11:22; 13:1ff; 54:5–6; 55:4; and 69:2. Ginzberg (1938: 7: 52–53) has sixteen references to *Azazel* in his index.

13. *Yoma* 67^b includes the statement that עזאַזֶל שמכפר על מעשה עוזא ועזאל, “Azazel atones for the sin of Uza and Azael.”

14. Note Milgrom's statement,

... the text takes pains to state that both animals were placed 'before the Lord' . . . and that the goat of Azazel will be placed alone 'before the Lord' (v 10). Here is clear evidence of the Priestly efforts to alter what was most likely in its original form a pagan rite.

15. See KBS II: 806 where eight scholars are cited in support of identifying *Azazel* as a demon in the wilderness, while acknowledging that its etymology is uncertain. *The Jewish Encyclopedia* (1925, II: 365) had similarly noted:

After Satan, for whom he was in some degree a preparation, Azazel enjoys the distinction of being the most mysterious extrahuman character in sacred literature. Unlike other Hebrew proper names, the name itself is obscure.

16. For another example of how the loss of spaces between words —coupled with the presence of rare words—affects translations, note Pro 30:1, which reads as follows in the MT and KJV:

דְּבָרִי אֶגּוֹר בֶּן־יַקְה הַמְשֵׁנָא
נָאָם חָנָבר לְאִיתִיאָל לְאִיתִיאָל וְאַכְלָל

The words of Agur the son of Jakeh,
even the prophecy the man spake unto Ithiel,
even unto Ithiel and Ucal

But the text, in my opinion, should be properly translated as:

The words of a pious person
rewarded for righteousness,
the declaration of one restored to health:
'Surely God exists! Surely God exists!
I will be kept healthy!'

For a full discussion of this text see below, Chapter XV.

VII
“MOSES WAS MADE TO DESPAIR”
NUMBERS 12:3

THE PROBLEMS IN 12:3

The rule is that things equal to the same thing are equal to each other, but there are exceptions, especially when it comes to Hebrew homographs. In Num. 12:3, the MT **הָאִישׁ מֹשֶׁה** appears as the equivalent of the MT **הָאִישׁ מֹשֶׁה** “the man Moses” in Exo 11:3. But the *pre-Masoretic* **הָאִישׁ** in Num. 12:3 was probably not the same as the **הָאִישׁ** of Exo 11:3.

וְהָאִישׁ מֹשֶׁה עַנוּ מֵאָד Noth (1968: 95) pointed out that “**מִבְּלָי** **הָאָדָם** **אֲשֶׁר** **עַל־פְּנֵי** **הָאָדָם**” was very meek, above all the men which *were* upon the face of the earth” (KJV) in Num. 12:3 “. . . is a latter addition which disrupts the close connection between v. 2b and 4.” Moreover, Noth (1968: 95) recognized that “it is not easy to ascertain what is meant by the unusual phrase [**וְהָאִישׁ מֹשֶׁה**] ‘the man Moses.’” He concluded, “. . . perhaps the ‘humanity’ of Moses is meant to be brought out and given explicit expression, so that the unique distinction accorded to this ‘man’ should be traced back exclusively to Yahweh’s freewill and be regarded as a divine gift.” Noth, thereby, transforms “the obliqueness of the reference to Moses” (Gray 1903: 123) into a even more oblique theological reference to divine free-will. Olson (1996: 71) and others continued to view Num. 12:3 as a parenthetical insertion by a narrator who, in the words of Ashley (1993: 224) “wishes the reader to know that

Moses *himself* (italics mine) would probably have let the challenge [by Aaron and Miriam] go unanswered.”

However, once the *pre-Masoretic* **הָנָשִׁים מֹשֶׁה** of Num. 12:3 is exegeted independently of the MT **הָנָשִׁים בְּמֹשֶׁה** of Exo 11:3, all of Num. 12:3 can be read as an original and integral non-parenthetical part of the narrative dealing with Aaron’s and Miriam’s challenge to Moses’ leadership.

Most studies on Num. 12:3 have focused on the interpretation of **עַנְנָה** (which occurs in the singular only here in the Bible) and its Qere,¹ **עַנְנֵה**, debating the merits of translating **עַנְנָה** as “meek” or “humble” or “devout.” Rogers (1986: 257–263) revived (apparently unknowingly) the suggestion of Sellers (1941, cited in Evans, 1969: 439–440) to abandon both “meek” and “humble.”² But, whereas Sellers opted to translate **עַנְנָה** as “ vexed, bad-tempered, or irritable,” Rogers argued from etymology and context for “miserable.”

SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS

The real clue to the meaning of **עַנְנָה** is in the meaning of the proper name **מֹשֶׁה** which precedes it. There is no problem with the proper name **מֹשֶׁה**; but what appears to be the noun **עַנְנָה** and the definite article **הָ** is in reality the verb **עָנָה** “to despair” with the prefixed **הָ** of the *Hoph'al*, meaning “he was brought to despair.” Thus, the **הָנָשִׁים מֹשֶׁה** “the man Moses” of Exo 11:3 is not the equivalent of **הָנָשִׁים מֹשֶׁה** in Num. 12:3. This latter verse should have been vocalized **מֹשֶׁה הָנָשִׁים** meaning “Moses was made to despair.” The Hebrew verb

לְאַיָּשׁ “to despair,” which would be a *hapax legomenon* here, has gone unrecognized to date by commentators and lexicographers; but it is the cognate of Arabic أَيْسَ (‘ayisa) and أَيَّاْسٍ (‘iyâs) (Lane, 1863: 137; Wehr, 1979: 47), with its synonym being قُنْطَ (qanîta) “to despair most vehemently of a thing, to become disheartened, to be without hope” (Lane, 1885: 2568; Wehr, 1979: 927). The metathetic by-form of أَيْسَ (‘ayisa) is يَعْسِ (ya‘isa) “to give up all hope,” and (4) “to deprive someone of hope” (Lane, 1893: 2973-2974; Wehr, 1979: 1294), which is the cognate of the well attested Hebrew לְאַיָּשׁ “to despair, to give up hope” (BDB: 384 [with no reference to أَيْسَ (‘ayisa) although يَعْسِ (ya‘isa) is noted]; Jastrow, 1903: 560).

Consequently, חֲנִיכָּשׁ מֹשֶׁה is not a simple predicate clause meaning “the man is Moses,” nor the inversion of a proper noun and its modifier, “Moses the man.” Rather, חֲנִיכָּשׁ מֹשֶׁה is a typical verbal clause with the verb (here a *Hoph’al*) followed by its subject: “Moses was brought to despair.” Given the intensity of the despair suggested by the synonym قُنْطَ (qanîta), the adverbial modifier “most vehemently” may be necessary in English to reflect accurately the author’s intent to show how deeply distressed Moses was by the challenge of Aaron and Miriam to his authority.

The depth of Moses’ despair is stressed by the adverbial modifiers which follow חֲנִיכָּשׁ מֹשֶׁה, namely, more than anyone upon the face of the earth.” The meaning of מַאֲד “more than anyone upon the face of the earth.” The meaning of מַאֲד will most likely be synonymous with לְאַיָּשׁ “to despair.” Thus,

the **עֲנָה** / **עֲנֵי** in 12:3 has nothing to do with: (1) “to answer,” or (2) “to afflict, to do violence, to be afflicted, to be bowed down,” a cognate of **عَنَا** / **عَنْو** (*‘anā*) and its derivatives **עֲנָה** and **עֲנֵי** “poor, humble, meek,” or (3) “to sing,” a cognate of **غَنِي** (*gannaya*); or (4) “to be free from want, to be wealthy or competent,” a cognate of **غَنِي** (*ganiya*) (Lane 1877: 2301–2303).

But the **עֲנָה** / **עֲנֵי** here may have something to do with **עֲנָה** (stem II) “to be occupied, busied with” in the sense of “being *preoccupied* with a matter” (BDB: 775). This is suggested by the Arabic cognate **عَنِي** (*‘anaya*) “to be disquieted, to suffer difficulty, distress, trouble, fatigue, or weariness,” which is a synonym of **هَامٌ / هَمِيمٌ** (*haim / hâma*) “to be perplexed, mystified, baffled, puzzled, confused, to be robbed of one’s senses” (Lane, 1874: 2180; 1885: 3047; Wehr, 1979: 762, 1224), which is the cognate of Hebrew **מִלְאָךְ** “to murmur, to discomfit” (BDB: 223).

The vocalization of the *Kethib* **עֲנָה** or the *Qere*^o (which is also the *Kethib* in 17 manuscripts cited by Kennicott [1780: 250]) can be resolved by (1) paying attention to the intensity of emotion and despair (**שִׁנְשִׁין**) experienced by Moses when challenged by Aaron and Miriam, and (2) reading **עֲנֵי** (*plene*) or **עֲנָה** (*defectiva*) as a *qattil* form used “almost exclusively of persons, who possess some quality in an *intense* manner” (GKC: 234 [§84f, italics mine]; Moscati, 1964: 78 [§12.9]). Contra Gray (1903: 123), who vocalized the words as **עֲנָה / עֲנֵי** (taking his clue from **דָבָרִי**), the variants should be vocalized as **עֲנֵי** **עֲנֵי** and **עֲנָה**, indicating that Moses was *intensely* perplexed and preoccupied by the

challenge from siblings Miriam and Aaron. The prepositional modifier, “more than anyone upon the face of the earth,” could modify either **הִנֵּשֶׁבֶת** “he was brought to despair” or **מָאֹד עֲזֵז** “[he was] extremely distressed.”

CONCLUSION

The lapse in oral tradition which permitted **הִנֵּשֶׁבֶת** in Num. 12:3 to be misunderstood as **הַנְּשֵׁבֶת**—rather than **הִנֵּשֶׁבֶת**—was also sufficient to obscure in the tradition the proper nuance and vocalization of **עֲזֵז / עֲזֵז**. The Masoretic reading of Num. 12:3 unintentionally transformed the verse from a statement of high drama about Moses’ emotional and mental depression due to the crisis created by Aaron and Miriam, into a parenthetically intrusive accolade. While the parenthetical intrusion elevated Moses to a plateau of “humility” or “meekness” beyond the reach of other human beings, the intent of the narrator was to show how the conflict with sister and brother brought Moses to the depths of despair—“a deeper distress (**עֲזֵז**) than that of anyone else on earth.”

Rogers’ proposal to render **עֲזֵז / עֲזֵז** as “miserable” was a step in the right direction, and a major improvement over Sellers’ “bad-tempered or irritable,” which hints at a permanent personality trait rather than a passing mood associated with a crisis situation in the family. While “miserable” rightly removed the unintended accolade from the narrative, it failed to focus on Moses disturbed emotional and mental faculties. When, contra Rogers, the etymological base is shifted away from **עֲנָה** (*‘anâ*) “to afflict, to do violence, to be afflicted, to be bowed down” to **עֲנָיָה** (*‘anaya*) “to be

disquieted, to suffer difficulty and distress,” the depression of Moses from the sibling rivalry becomes transparent.

Although Milgrom (1990: 94) appealed to what he considered the “synonymous parallel” in Psa 22:27 (i.e., מַעֲנוֹת “the devout” and דָרְשָׁיו “those who seek Him”) to clarify עֲנוּן in Num. 12:3, the synonyms in this latter verse itself are mutually informative—once they are correctly vocalized as עֲנוּן “he was brought to despair” and עֲנוּנוֹ or עֲנוּנוֹת “[he was] distressed.” Far from being adulatory, וְהִיא שָׁמֶךָ עֲנוּנוֹת מֵאָתָה was the narrators way of showing just how human Moses was when challenged unfairly by Miriam and Aaron. The adulation of Moses was delayed in the narrative until verses 7–8, when from God—not from Moses nor from a narrator—the accolade is given: פֶּה אֶל־פֶּה אֶדְבֶּר בָּו וּמְרָאָה “mouth to mouth I speak to him very clearly.”

NOTES

1. Rogers (1986: 257 n. 6), followed by Allen (1990: 799), indirectly quote Gray (1903: 124) that the ‘ of the Qere עֲנוּנוֹ “is a *mater lectionis* to indicate that the last syllable is to be pronounced as in דָרְשָׁיו.” Surprisingly, both Rogers and Allen omit Gray’s concluding comparison, “as in דָרְשָׁיו,” indicating they misunderstood Gray’s statement. Gray’s point was not *whether* the second syllable should be pronounced, but *how* it should be pronounced.

2. I am indebted to my colleague, Dr. Parker Thompson of North Fork, Virginia, for this reference to O. R. Sellers’ 1941 proposal.

VIII

THE POOR MUST NOT BE DENIED ASSISTANCE

DEUTERONOMY 15:4 AND 15:11

INTRODUCTION

Expectations expressed in Deu 15:4 and 15:11 concerning the poor appear to be in disagreement. The former verse states clearly “**אָפֶס בַּי לֹא יִהְיֶה־בָּךְ אֲבִיוֹן**”¹ “but there will be no poor among you.” But the latter verse seems, at first glance, to state with equal clarity “**כִּי לֹא־יִחְצַל אֲבִיוֹן מִקְרָב הָאָרֶץ**”² “for the poor will never cease out of the land.”² The Septuagint reads with equal clarity *and* ambivalence: ὅτι οὐκ ἔσται ἐν σοὶ ἐνδεής “for there shall not be a poor person in you” (15:4); and οὐ γὰρ μὴ ἐκλίπη ἐνδεής ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς “for the poor shall not cease from the land” (15:11).

Commentators have been of little help in resolving this tension. Driver (1902: 181) basically reversed the sequencing of the verses stating, “[15:11 is] the ground of the preceding injunction [in 15:4]: the poor will never cease out of the land, and hence it [the injunction] will never become superfluous.”

On the other hand, von Rad (1966: 106–107) appealed to a two source theory—one tradition from the legislator (15:4) and the other tradition from the preacher (15:11)—stating:

This preacher has realistic ideas about poverty; he knows that Israel will always have to deal with it (v. 11). This conception seems to have provoked a contrary opinion, namely, that complete obedience will be answered by a complete divine blessing, and hence by the end of all poverty (vv. 4–6). In both conceptions, but more clearly in the second one, there is expressed the negative and quite unascetic estimate of poverty characteristic of the earlier Israel. It is an evil out of which nothing of value can be extracted.

Such literary and theological discussions have only highlighted the tension between these verses. A careful philological inquiry about the cognates of חָדַל will provide better options for addressing the textual tensions, irrespective of whether the tradition is from a single author or from a legislator and a preacher.

PHILOLOGICAL ALTERNATIVES

A fresh interpretation was offered by Freedman and Lundbom (1980: 221) who argued that the verb חָדַל in 15:11 was not from חָדַל stem I, “to cease,” but from חָדַל stem II, “to grow fat.”³ They concluded, “The preacher is not saying, ‘The poor will never cease out of the land,’ but ‘The poor from the land will never grow fat.’” They concluded

This [verse 15:11] caps a rhetorical argument that seeks to move the people to charity. After telling his audience to remember the poor (15:1ff.), he then says they need not fear that the poor will grow rich, at least not on what they have given them. The poor will never grow fat on that!

Their reasoning was that this verse gave assurance to those of the upper class who gave to charity (in accordance to the legislation of 15:5–10) that they could relax because their gifts would be insufficient for the poor to make their way out of poverty. Even with charity, poverty “will not cease from the midst of the land.” Such an interpretation means that Deu 15:4, “there will be no poor in the land,” cannot be taken seriously, and certainly not literally. This interpretation *assumes* the traditional understanding of 15:11 that “the poor will never cease in the land” even though the text is translated quite differently as “the poor will never get fat.”

66 THE POOR MUST NOT BE DENIED ASSISTANCE

On philological grounds this interpretation is seriously flawed. A careful look at Lane's (1865: 711) definition of خدل (*hadala*) reveals that this cognate means, "he was, or became, large, and full [or plump], in the shank and fore arm." The words "shank, fore arm, and ankle" actually appear twenty-two times in the thirty-nine line definition of خدل (*hadala*) and its by-form خدلج (*hadallaj*)—with *never* a mention of "fat" anywhere in the definitions, although "juice" was one of the definitions.⁴ In medical jargon خدل (*hadl*) would mean "peripheral edema," *not* "obesity." It is a referent to excessive "juice" (= fluid) in the limbs, not excessive fat of the torso.⁵

In light of this evidence, there is good reason to concur with Lewis (1985:108), followed by Schloen (1993: 23), that it is best "to resist the entry of *hdl*-II ["to become fat"] into our Hebrew lexicons," even though the NRSV (1989) used "grew fat" in Jud 5:7. While خدل (*hadl*) "peripheral edema" is of no real help in resolving the tensions between Deu 15:4 and 15:11, two other cognates need to be considered, namely, خدل (*hadala*) "to treat unjustly" and خدل (*hadala*) "to refuse to help someone."

The former cognate is not cited in Lane's lexicon but it was noted by Castell (1669: 1137) "iniquus fuit" and is cited by Wehr (1979: 192). If חדל is the cognate of *hadala*, the MT בַּי לֹא-יִחְדַּל אֲבִיוֹן מִקְרָב הָאָרֶץ would need to be read as a *Niph'al* passive (יִחְדַּל), "for the poor from the midst of the land must not be treated unjustly." The implication would be that poverty perpetuates itself through injustice. Were justice to prevail poverty would cease in the midst of the land.

The equation of חָדַל with the Arabic خَذَل (*hadala*), “to leave, to abandon, to forsake” (Lane 1865: 713–714) is a bit problematic,⁶ but Winton Thomas (1957: 9) rightly asserted,

The equation of חָדַל = Arabic خَذَل [*hadala*] can be accepted without hesitation, and a consideration of the meanings of the Arabic root forms the best starting point for our observations on the root as it is found in the Hebrew Bible.

Winton Thomas correctly cited Lane’s definition of خَذَل (*hadala*) as “abstained from, neglected, *aiding* [italics mine]; held back from (as a gazelle holds back from going after the herd); left, forsook, deserted.” But in his discussion of חָדַל the *aiding* element is omitted and חָדַל is redefined as (1) “held back from, left, forsook”⁷ or (2) “held oneself back, refrained from,” or (3) “ceased, come to an end.” But in Lane’s one-hundred line definition the words “assistance” and “aid” occur twenty-five times, which is to say that the basic meaning of خَذَل (*hadala*) is “to fail to render aid” or “to neglect giving assistance.” Thus, the חָדַל which is a cognate of خَذَل (*hadala*) does not mean just “to refrain” or “to hold back”. It specifically means “to refrain *from giving aid*” and “to fail *to assist*,” with the italicized English words belonging to the root meaning of the Arabic/Hebrew word itself.⁸

Castell (1669: 1137) defined خَذَل (*hadala*) as “*frustratus fuit, ope, et auxilio destituit*” and listed the following verses where خَذَل (*hadala*) appeared in Arabic translations for Hebrew 脱 or נִטְשׁ or עֹזֶב, all of which can mean “to forsake, to abandon”: (1) Jos 1:5, לֹא אַرְפַּךְ וְלֹא אַעֲזֵב (*wala’ aḥḍuluka wala’ atrukka*) “I will not fail you or forsake you”; (2) Jud 6:13, نִטְשָׁנוּ = خَذَلَنَا (*hadalana’*) “he deserted us”; (3) I Kings 6:13, וְלֹא אַעֲזֵב =

68 THE POOR MUST NOT BE DENIED ASSISTANCE

وَلَا اخْذُل (wala' *ahdalu'*) “I will not forsake”; and (4) I Kings 8:57, **וְלَا יִخְذַלֵנוּ = וְאֶל-***يִתְשָׁנֵנוּ* (*wala' taḥdulana'*) “may he not forsake us.”

CONCLUSION

In light of this evidence, Hebrew חֲדָל, in addition to meaning “to cease” could be a cognate of (1) حَدَل (*hadala*) “to flatten, to treat unjustly,” and (2) حَذَل (*hadala*) “to refuse to help (someone), to desert (someone),” as well as (3) حَدَال (*hadala*) “peripheral edema,” i.e., to have an enlarged fore arm, or shank, or ankle (Lane 1873: 711, 713; Wehr 1979: 192, 267, 268). To refer to *the* root חֲדָל in the singular, as did Freedman and Lundbom (1980: 216), is very misleading. There are four independent roots spelled חֲדָל, with three different Arabic cognates—rather than one root with its semantic range going in four different directions. The חֲדָל which means “to cease, to come to an end” has no Arabic cognate; and, as Winton Thomas (1957: 10) noted, “The meaning ‘cease’, in the sense of ‘come to an end’, is comparatively rare in the O. T., being found perhaps in eight passages only.”

When it comes to Deu 15:11, the חֲדָל which best fits the context and removes the tension with Deu 15:4 is either (1) حَدَل (*hadala*) “to treat unjustly,” requiring the MT of 15:11 בַּיּוֹן לֹא־חֲדָל אֶבְיוֹן to be translated “Indeed, the poor *must not be treated unjustly*”⁹ or (2) حَذَل (*hadala*) “to refuse to help (someone),” in which case لֹא־חֲדָל אֶבְיוֹן could also be revocalized as a passive and translated, “the poor *must not be denied assistance!*” If the active voice is retained the verse would mean, “Indeed, one *must not abstain from aiding the poor in the land!*” The aspect of necessity is reinforced by the imperative which follows: “Therefore I command you, ‘you

shall open wide your hand to your brother, to the needy and the poor in the land.””

With these options available for translating Deu 15:11, there is no longer any reason to insist on maintaining the traditional translation “the poor will never cease from the midst of the land.” Nor is there any wisdom in opting for “the poor will not become ‘fat’ (= ‘have swollen limbs’ or ‘have peripheral edema’).” The vision statement of Deu 15:4, “But there will be no poor among you,” is followed in 15:11 with the operational directive: “the poor must not be denied aid.”

Any appeal to John 12:8 (*τοὺς πτωχοὺς γὰρ πάντοτε ἔχετε μεθ' ἑαυτῶν*, “you will always have the poor with you”), which seems to have Jesus’ quoting Deu 15:11 as traditionally understood,¹⁰ must recognize Jesus’ immediate context. He made this statement while he was in “Poor Town,” which is to say that Jesus made this statement in Bethany, a name which means literally “House of the Poor,” being a composite of “house” and “poor, afflicted” (BDB 776).¹¹ To state while in “Poor Town” that “you will always have the poor with you” is as logical as saying in a hospital, “there will always be sick people here.” Neither statement suggests eternal inevitability. For Jesus it was a contextually logical statement which hardly required his appealing to one of several ways of reading a verse in Deuteronomy.

NOTES

1. The rest of Deu 14:4 reads: בַּיּוֹם וּבְרֵבָד יְהוָה בְּאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ נָתַן לְךָ נֶחֱלָה לִרְשָׁתָה, “for Yahweh will bless you in the land which Yahweh your God gives you for an inheritance to possess.”

2. The balance of Deu 15:11 reads: עַל־בֶּן אָנָבִי מִצְנָךְ לְאמֹר פָּתַח הַפְּתַח אַתִּינְךָ לְאַחִיךָ לְעַנִּיךָ וְלְאַבְנִיךָ בְּאָרֶץ, “therefore I

70 THE POOR MUST NOT BE DENIED ASSISTANCE

command you, you shall open wide your hand to your brother, to the needy and to the poor, in the land.”

3. Following Chaney (1976), who also argued for חָדָל-II “to be fat” in Jud 5:7 and I Sam 2:5. For a critique of Chaney and those who followed him, see Schloen 1993: 22–23 and McDaniel 2002: 117–119. As for I Sam 2:5, it should be noted here that the MT וְרַעֲבִים חָדָלוּ עַד can be rendered “and the hungry were never again denied aid.” The unusual *dagesh* of the ל of חָדָל indicates that the ל of this word does double duty as the negative particle לֹא, like (1) the לֹא (= לֹא) “not” in the *Kethib* of I Sam 2:16, וְאַמֵּר, like (2) the לֹא (= לֹא) “he said, ‘No, you must give it now!’” and (2) in the *Kethib* of I Sam 20:2, “*לֹא עַד עַזְתָּה תִּחְתִּין*” “*lo, my father will not do anything.*” The restored (לֹא עַד = לֹא עַד) in I Sam 2:5 would be the equivalent of the אַיִן in Isa 45: 5, 6, 18, and 21.

4. Compare Calderone (1961: 451; 1962: 413) who cited Lane and erroneously included “fat” in Lane’s definition. Consequently, his extension of the semantic range “fat” to mean “to be prosperous” is untenable. His application of this definition to (1) I Sam 2:5 (חָדָל = “grew fat”), (2) Pro 19:27 (חָדָל “grow prosperous”), and (3) Pro 23:4 (חָדָל = “grow prosperous”) was gratuitous. The same criticism applies also to Winton Thomas (1957: 14–15) who, several years before Calderone, translated I Sam 2:5 as “have grown plump,” and following Noth, interpreted the name חָדָל in II Chron 28:12 as “Fatty.”

5. Freedman and Lundbom (1980: 221) concluded their article on חָדָל with this statement: “In both the Song of Deborah and the Song of Hannah, *growing fat* (italics mine) is a mark of Yahweh’s favor. He has elevated those of low estate.” However, once “fat” is corrected to “edema” their statement does *not* ‘hold water,’ so to speak. See McDaniel 2003: 115–119.

6. Ordinarily the Arabic حَدَّلَ became a חָדָל in Hebrew and a חָדָל in Aramaic and Ugaritic, like (1) Ugaritic *d^c* “to sweat,” (UT 386 #

686) which was cognate to סְעִיר, Syriac *↷אֲתָא* (*dâ‘ ata^o*), and the Arabic وَدَعْ (wada^ca) “to flow”; and (2) Ugaritic *dry* “to winnow” which was cognate to ܙܪܗ, Syriac *↷דֵרָא* (*dēra^c*), and Arabic دَرَّا (*darra^c*) (*UT 387 # 702*). For the Arabic خَذَلَ (*hadala*) to be the cognate of Hebrew חַדְלָה it must be assumed that חַדְלָה follows the Ugaritic pattern rather than the usual Hebrew pattern, otherwise the cognate would have been חַזְלָה.

7. Winton Thomas (1957: 11), citing Gesenius-Buhl and G. R. Driver, argued for an active participle in Isa 53:3 (MT וְחַדְלָה מִשְׁנָה) “renouncing men,” rather than the traditional passive meaning “rejected of men.” Apparently unnoticed by Winton Thomas was Lane’s notice that خَذَلَت (*hadalat*) was “said by some to be inverted [as to meaning], because she [a wild animal] is [not the one that leaves, but] the one that is left.” This notice supports the traditional interpretation “rejected of men.” Another option is to translate 53:3 as “rejected by the despairing,” assuming that מִשְׁנָה = מִשְׁנָה, the plural participle of the cognate of Arabic أَيْسَى (*‘ayisa*) and إِيَّاس (*‘iyâs*) (Lane, 1863: 137; Wehr, 1979: 47).

8. Nowhere in the presentation of Freedman and Lundbom does this significant component—found in lexicons of Castell, Lane, and Wehr—receive any attention.

9. The בְּ is to be read as an emphatic particle (see Blommerde 1969: 30 for a bibliography on the emphatic בְּ). The verb has the modal force of necessity like the נִלְלָה plus imperfect found in the Decalogue.

10. See Brown (1966: 449) who cited Deu 15:11, without any comment.

11. Note Brown 1966: 45, 422.

IX
THE REHAB OF RAHAB
JOSHUA 2:1, 6:17, 6:25

INTRODUCTION

In the Greek texts of the Bible there is no ambiguity about the vocation of Rahab of Jericho. In Joshua 2:1, 6:17, 6:25, Hebrews 11:31, and James 2:25 she is identified as ἡ πόρνη “the harlot.” But in the Hebrew text there is ambiguity about the meaning of זונה זונה since זונה can be derived from the הַ verb זונה “to fornicate” (a cognate of Arabic زن [zana-ya]) or from the וְ verb זונָ “to feed” (BDB 275, 266), as well as a number of other derivations proposed in this study.

Although all the Greek texts opted for זונה “harlot,” the Targum Jonathan understood it to be זונה “hostess,” from the root זִנָּה. However, the Targumist did not use the readily available Aramaic cognate זִנָּה in his translation (see Sperber, 1959: 2). Instead, the Greek loanword πανδοκεύς “innkeeper,” transliterated as פָּנְדָּקִי (Jastrow 1903: 1143), was used to translate the זונה (or just זונה, the *scriptio defectiva* spelling in manuscripts 8, 16, and 111 cited by Kennicott [1780: 446]). Obviously, the Targumist did not want the ambiguity of זונה (= זונה or זונה) carried over into the Aramaic translation.

The care taken by the Targumist to make sure Rahab was recognized for having been a זונה “innkeeper” rather than a זונה “harlot” has not been fully appreciated, even by translators of Targum Jonathan. Harrington and Saldarini (1987: 20) actually translated זאלו ועלו לביית איתה פנדקיתה as “and they went and they entered the house of the *harlot woman*.” To translate the פנדקיתה as “harlot”—as though it were synonymous with נפקת ברא “harlot” (Jastrow, 926a)—is analogous to making the English “bed and breakfast,” a

synonym of “brothel.” Even if someone participates in commercial sex at a “bed and breakfast,” the inn itself does not thereby become a brothel, nor do the proprietors thereby become prostitutes or pimps. In light of the Targumist’s choice of a Greek loanword to describe Rahab—so as to avoid ambiguity about the meaning of גַּנְחָן—a literal translation of פֶּנְדְּקִוָּתָה “innkeeper, hostess” seems obligatory, even if it disagrees with the ἡ πόρνη in canonical traditions (Hebrews 11:31 and James 2:25). Any suggestion that Targum Jonathan was “cleaning up” the Rahab story would need to account for the embarrassing presence of the נָפְךָ בָּרָא “prostitute” in Targum Jonathan’s story of Judah in Gen 38:15 (Sperber, 1959: I: 64).

Josephus (*Antiquities* V: 2, 1) followed the same tradition as the Targum, referring to Rahab’s καταγώγιον “inn, lodging, resting place” rather than to her πορνεῖον or her χαμαιτυπεῖον, the common Greek words for “brothel.”¹

ARABIC COGNATES

When one turns to Arabic cognates of Hebrew גַּנְחָן and גַּנְחָן (and the עֲשֵׂה by-form, like שִׁימָה/שִׁימָה, like גַּנְחָן, like אַשְׁה גַּנְחָן) in Jos 2:1 becomes very apparent. The following is a list of possible cognates of גַּנְחָן:

- (1) زَنْيٰ (zanya) “to fornicate, to commit adultery” (Lane, 1867: 1260), noted above and followed by many commentators.
- (2) زِينَةٰ (zinat) “a beauty, a comely quality, an intellectual, a grace, an adornment” (Lane, 1867: 1279). This is an especially noteworthy cognate in light of Jewish traditions that Rahab, along with Sarah, Abigail, and Esther, were the four most beautiful women in the world.

(Ginzberg, 1968: 4: 117). Although this cognate is not cited in Hebrew lexicons, it would seem that the meaning was known in earlier Jewish tradition. The significance of “intellectual,” included in this definition, is noted below in paragraph (8).

- (3) زוֹנָת (*ziwannat*) “short,” when applied to a woman; زוֹנָן (*ziwann*) when applied to a man (Lane, 1867: 1273). If this were the derivation of רְהָבָב, the נ would have been an original consonant rather than a later vowel letter.
- (4) זָנָא (*zanâ'*) “short,” possibly a by-form of the above (Lane, 1867: 1255c)
- (5) זָנָא (*zanâ'*) “to have recourse for refuge, protection, preservation, concealment, covert, or lodging” (Lane, 1867: 1255b). This cognate preserves the meaning which was known to Josephus and to Targum Jonathan. Even though καταγώγιον and פְּנַדְקִיחָה אֲנָא address the “lodging” element of زָנָא (*zanâ'*), they do not touch on the fact that Rahab as בָּנָה בְּנָה was by anticipation the woman who would provide refuge and concealment for the spies, not just routine lodging. If זָנָא (*zanâ'*) is the cognate of MT זָנוֹנָה, the נ of בָּנָה is a misvocalization.
- (6) זָנָא (*zanâ'*) “he was, or became, affected with a lively emotion of joy or grief; syn طَرَب (*taraba*) [“he was or became affected with emotion, or a lively emotion, or excitement, agitation, or unsteadiness yearning or longing of the soul with the emotion of him who is bereft of offspring or friends or like him who is insane in mind . . . [used of] camels yearning for their accustomed places of abode]” (Lane, 1867: 1255c; 1893: 1835–1836).²

- (7) ئازن (zānâ') “to ascend.” The LXX B-text of Jud. 19:2 has nothing corresponding to the ئازن (see tnote 2, below), perhaps due to a erroneous assumption that ئازن was nothing more than a variant for the ئالزىن “she went [up]” which follows it.
- (8) ذهن (dahin) “one was or became intelligent, possessed of understanding, sagacious, acute, skillful” (Lane, 1867: 984). Arabic ؤ appears as a ة in Hebrew, and the ئازن* would be to ئازن what is to ئازن (BDB, 626 and 632). The “intellectual” dimension may be reflected in the tradition that Rahab was the ancestress of seven kings, eight prophets, and the prophetess Huldah (Ginzberg, 1968: 6: 171). (See item [2] زينه [zinat]), above.)
- (9) ظنون (zānūn) “one in whose goodness no trust, or confidence is to be placed, someone possessing little good or goodness,” and ظنین (zānīn) “[one who is] suspected, to be under suspicion.” Arabic ئ usually becomes a ة in Hebrew but ئ and ة may appear closely related to ئ, as with ئاهير (zahîrat) “midday” and ئاهير (zâhir) “shining, bright” and ئاهير (zâhirat) “shining brightness” (Lane, 1867, 1262; 1874: 1925; and BDB, 263 [with no reference to ئ] and 843 [which notes ئ]). Support for this association comes from Jewish traditions that Rahab lived an immoral life from age ten to fifty—which is to say Rahab was held under suspicion for a very long time even though, according to these same traditions, she had become Joshua’s wife (Ginzberg, 1968: 4: 5; 6: 171). Needless to say, Rahab’s fellow citizens in Jericho may have considered her as “one in whose goodness no trust or confidence is to be placed.” Since ظنون (zānūn) is an ئ stem, ئازن would be a ئازن by-form.³

- (10) زون (*zûn*) “an idol, and anything taken as a deity and worshiped beside God, . . . a place in which idols are collected and set up,” as also زور (*zûr*) “anything that is worshiped in place of God’] (Lane, 1867: 1273 and 1268). Although it is unlikely that زون is the cognate of זָנָה in Jos. 2:1, it may well be the cognate and by-form of זָנָה used in prophetic literature when Israel and Judah are castigated for their idolatry and worship of other gods. Instead of understanding an expression like זָנָה חַזְנָה in Hosea 1:2 strictly as a metaphorical use of זָנָה “to fornicate,” it may be better understood as a verb meaning literally “to worship other gods or idols.” A *double entendre* may well have been intended.

IMPLICATIONS

In view of these Arabic cognates, **רָהָב זָנָה** —in good Lucianic or *Amplified Bible* style—indicates that Rahab was an “intelligent, beautiful, short woman *emotionally upset* and suspected of little-good as a *harlot* and as a *covert idol worshiper*.” Such a statement, while not to be taken seriously, amply illustrates the point that the interpretation of **רָהָב** will always present a *problem*, but not necessarily a *prostitute*. The interpretation of **רָהָב** may tell more about the *preoccupation* of the interpreter than the *occupation* of the character.

Boling (1982: 145), who made no reference to **פָּנְדָקִיתָן** “innkeeper” in Targum Jonathan or to Josephus’ **καταγώγιον** “inn,” commented

Probably the narrator intends to titillate by reminding readers of an immemorial symbiosis between military service and bawdy house. It is reliably reported that at the height of the 1948 warfare, morale in the desperately besieged Jewish quarter of Jerusalem was considerably bolstered by the arrival of a barber and a prostitute

It is difficult to see, however, how a prostitute in Jerusalem in 1948 C.E. can be used as evidence that Rahab was a harlot in Jericho 3,000⁺ years earlier. Stereotypic generalizations and anecdotal hearsay are poor substitutes for philological inquiry into all lexicographic options. Castell's (1669: I: 234) citing of Jos 2:1 under the root נָנָה, rather than נָנָה, has gone unnoticed or unappreciated by subsequent lexicographers, including the most recent revision of Koehler and Baumgartner's *Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon* (1994: II:).

The use of נָנָה in the Jewish prayer after meals

בָּרוּךְ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ מֶלֶךְ הָעוֹלָם
הָזֶן אָתָּה הָעוֹלָם בְּלֹא בְּטוּבוֹ . . .

“Blessed art thou, the Eternal, our God,
king of the universe who *sustaineth* the
whole universe in his goodness . . .”⁴

may well retain a use of the *Hebrew* stem נָנָה, a stem attested—although not widely attested—since the time of Joseph and Joshua, precluding the necessity of making the מִזְוָה “food, sustenance” of Gen 45:23 a late Aramaic gloss (BDB, 266).

RAHAB IN MATTHEW'S GENEALOGY

The appearance of Rahab in the genealogy of Jesus (Matt 1:5) is in line with Jewish traditions, already noted, which made Rahab the ancestress of numerous kings, prophets, and a prophetess. Quinn (1981: 225–228) attempted to distinguish between the Rahab (Ραχάβ) of Matthew from the Rahab (LXX = Ρααβ) of Joshua since the Rahab of Jericho is, according to Quinn, always known in Greek as Ρααβ and consequently, “the Ραχάβ of Mt 1,5 ought not to be associated with Rahab, the name of the harlot of Jericho.” Brown (1982: 79–80) rightly faulted Quinn's conclusion, but neither Quinn nor Brown noticed that in Josephus both spellings, Ραχάβης

and Ἀράβης, are used for Rahab of Jericho, depending on which manuscript tradition was being followed for the printed editions of Josephus. Naber's edition (see note 1) seems to have gone unnoticed.

The Shem Tob Hebrew Gospel of Matthew (Howard, 1987: 2–3), interestingly, has מִרְחָב הַזֹּנוֹנָה, which Howard rendered traditionally “from Rahab the harlot,” assuming the vocalization should be הַזֹּנוֹנָה with the MT of Jos 2:1, rather than הַזֹּנוֹנָה with Targum Jonathan and the Josepus tradition.⁵ Either way, the Shem Tob text mitigates against Quinn's proposal to make the Rahab of Matthew someone other than the Rahab of Jericho.

CONCLUSIONS

Hebrew נָנוֹן in certain contexts surely means a “harlot,” but it does not have this meaning in all contexts. נָנוֹן is a homograph for several distinctly different words. In prophetic literature it may literally—not metaphorically—mean “to worship other gods” as suggested by the Arabic زون (*zûn*) “idol, place of idols.” The נָנוֹן in Hos 1:2 need not be a by-form of נָנוֹת “harlot,” but may be related to the Arabic ظنون (*zanûn*) “being of little good, being suspect.” The concubine in Jud 19:2 was more likely to have been just plain “homesick” (= زَانَّ [*zana'*] = נָנוֹן) rather than her having acted against the Levite by becoming a harlot or an idolater.

When it comes to Rahab she could have been a נָנוֹן and a virgin at the same time. She could have been زَانَّ (*zana'*) “short,” زَانَّ (*zana'*) “hyper-emotional,” ذهَن (*dahin*) “smart and skillful,” or just plain زَينَت (*zinat*) “beautiful.” However, the adjective which best fits the context of providing the spies with “bed and breakfast” is زَانَّ (*zana'*) “having the ability to offer lodging, refuge, and concealment.” For the spies, Rahab

was זונה “the sustainer (feminine),” which corresponds to the masculine זון “the sustainer,” mentioned in the Jewish prayer above. Rahab gave her guests more than “bed and breakfast,” for by giving them cover and concealment—at risk to herself—she give them life. Rahab’s brief encounter with the Israelite spies ended in covenant of life-for-life.

The multiple nuances of זונה are sacrificed unnecessarily when the זונה זונה is treated simply as a titillating tidbit about a harlot. The narrator’s choice of זונה, with all of its layers of meaning, to describe Rahab was probably intentional. Unfortunately, in this case the erudition of many lexicographers and commentators has not matched the artistry of the narrator.

NOTES

1. See Naber, 1888: 268, ἐς τῷ τῆς Ραχάβης καταγωγίῳ and ἡ Ραχάβης καταγαγοῦσσα; and Thackeray, 1926: 5: 4–5, where Rahab is spelled ‘Ραάβης rather than ‘Ραχάβης.
2. This cognate provides a clue for the LXX A-text translating the קָנָה עַל־יְהוָה in Jud 19:2 as καὶ ὠργίσθη σύτῳ “and she became angry with him” (followed by the RSV and NRS). Given the emotional range of زند (zand’)—which is greater than that of the Akkadian cognates *zenû* “to be angry” and *zinûtu* “anger” (*CAD* 1961: 85, 124)—the concubine may have been guilty of nothing more than an extreme case of “homesickness” which led her to return to her father. To interpret uncritically זונה as “harlot” in Jud 19:2, used in reference to an abused and murdered woman, further impugns the integrity of the woman, as well as the reputation of the interpreter.
3. The Arabic *(zanūn)* must be considered as the cognate of בָּנָנִים in Hos 1:2. Lane (1872: 1925b) included the following in his definition of ظنون (zanūn): “a woman suspected in relation to her grounds of pretension to respect, or honour, on account of lineage

etc. . . . and a woman of noble rank or quality, who is taken in marriage . . . from a desire of obtaining offspring by her, when she is advanced age. In addition طن (zannun) “in all these exs. the verb denotes a state of mind between doubt and certainty . . .” (1924c), and “a preponderating wavering between two extremes in indecisive belief” (1925a). Aside from the matter of age, this definition matches the situation in Hosea—so well exemplified by the children, who in 1:6–8 are named לֹא רְחַמָּה “Not Pitied” and לֹא עַמִּי “Not My People,” but in 2:3 they are called רְחַמָּה “Pitied” and עַמִּי “My People.” The ambivalence and wavering between punishment and forgiveness throughout Hosea is more than hinted at in צוֹנִים when the word is related to طن (zannun). Thus, by disassociating the מ in 1:2c from the חנָה צוֹנִים in 1:2d, simple repetition is removed and a striking paranomasia is recovered.

4. סדר עבדות ישראל. Tel Aviv: Sinai Publishing, 1969, 424–425.

5. The vocalization of צוֹנָה is patterned after דָוָם and דָוָת “silence,” and בְּשָׁה and בְּשָׁת “shame” (BDB 101 and 189).

X

THE CALL FOR A ‘BLACKOUT’ AND THE SOLAR ECLIPSE IN JOSHUA 10:7–15

INTRODUCTION

The brief quotation from *The Book of Jasher* in Jos 10:13b and the related text of Jos 10:12b–13a read:

שֶׁמֶשׁ בְּגִבְעֹן דָּוָם
וַיַּרְחֵךְ בְּעַמְקֵךְ אַיְלָוֹן
וַיַּדְמֵךְ הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ וַיַּרְחֵךְ עַמְדָה . . .
וַיַּעֲמֵד הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ בְּחָצֵי הַשְׁמִינִים
וְלֹא־אָזֶן לְבוֹא בַּיּוֹם תְּמִימִים

“Sun, over Gibeon be still,
Moon too, over Aijalon Valley.”

Sun was stilled, And Moon stood fixed . . .

The sun stayed in the center of the heavens
and did not hurry to set for almost a whole day!

(Boling 1982: 274)

The nouns and names in these lines are not problematic, but the verbs **דָּוָם** and **עַמְדָה** are open to different interpretations. Tradition has identified the former with **קָמַת** “to be or grow dumb, to be silent, to be still or motionless” (BDB 198),¹ like the LXX **στήτω ὁ ἥλιος** “let the sun stand (still).” The latter has been identified with **עַמְדָה** “to stand, to stop, to cease,” the cognate of Arabic **عَمَدَ** (*‘amada*) “to prop up, support” (BDB 763), like the LXX **καὶ ἔστη ὁ ἥλιος** “and the sun stood.”

Everything from myths² to meteorites³ have been appealed to by commentators to clarify the claim that the sun and moon actually stood still—long enough for the phenomenon to make it into Israelite tradition, but too brief for it to be referenced in any other world literature⁴—assuming the sun orbited the earth, rather than the earth’s orbiting the sun. Soggin (1972: 122–123) made the following comments which illustrates the possibility of a mythological origin of the tradition,

For the sun not to have set is directly related to the continuance of the battle until victory was achieved, but then the mention of the moon makes no sense . . . The theme in itself is also found in the *Iliad*, II, 412ff., in almost identical circumstances: Agamemnon prays Zeus not to let the sun go down before the Achaeans have been victorious, and this is what happens.

Holladay (1968: 175–176) added an astrological component to the mythological interpretation in light of Akkadian omens which deemed it favorable “when the great lunar and solar orbs ‘stood’ in the ‘balance’ [on the fourteenth of the month],” expressed in Jos 10:13 by references to the sun at Gibeon on the east and the moon over the valley of Ajalon to the west, as if Joshua was encamped between Gibeon and Ajalon.⁵

However, Gilgal near Jericho was Joshua’s base of operation (Jos 10:6), with Gibeon and Ajalon lying about twenty and twenty-two miles due west of Joshua’s encampment. For Joshua to have asked for an ‘Akkadian style’ omen, the sun should have “stood in balance” over Heshbon to the east of Gilgal, and the moon should have “stood in balance” over Gibeon and Ajalon, to the west of Gilgal.

The key to the interpretation of Jos 10:12–13 comes not from mythology or astrology but from lexicography. A full

review of the Arabic, Aramaic/Syriac cognates of מָרֵא and עַמְּדָה offered this interpreter options which had yet to be considered. Once all options are in focus the logical sequence of events and the nature of those events become transparent.

THE COGNATES OF מָרֵא AND עַמְּדָה

The Arabic (‘*amada*) is of interest because it was used with reference to the dawning of the day, as in the following expression: (‘*amûdu* ‘*aṣṣubhi*) “the bright gleam of dawn, the dawn that rises and spreads, filling the horizon with brightness” (Lane 1874: 2153).⁶ If Hebrew עַמְּדָה parallels this Arabic usage it would suggest routine sunrises or lunar appearances. However, it is unlikely that any reference to routine sunrises or other ordinary solar and lunar appearances would be recorded in and quoted from *The Book of Jasher*.

The Arabic (*dûm*) as a cognate of the מָרֵא of Jos 10:13 also deserves attention. Comparable to the מָרֵא . . . שָׁמֶשׁ is the Arabic expression (دَوْمَتُ الشَّمْسُ فِي السَّمَاءِ) (*dawwamat’ aššams fî’ aššamā’i*) “the sun spun in the sky . . . meaning as though it were spinning or was as though it were motionless . . . when the sun is [apparently] stationary in the summer midday,” (Lane 1867: 936; Lane’s brackets). Moreover, دَمٌ / دَوْمٌ (*dûm* / *dâma*) can also mean “it continued, lasted, remained, or endured,” which would seem to be the natural parallel for the traditional understanding of מָרֵא . . . שָׁמֶשׁ, “sun remain (at Gibeon).”⁷ However, it is unlikely that the common visual illusions produced by the midday summer sun would be noteworthy enough to be recorded in *The Book of Jasher* or a

phenomenon of much help to Joshua and the Israelites.⁸ Consequently these two cognates, عمد (^c*amada*) and دوم (*dûm*), can be disregarded as being germane to the interpretation of Jos 10:12–13.

However, two other cognates from Arabic provide clues to the original meaning of עָמַד **וְיִרְחָ שָׁמֵד**. They are غَمَد (gámada) “to conceal” (= عَمَد *Umad*) and دَهَم (dahama) “it became black” (= دَهَمَ = دَهَمَ), and the related لُون مَدْمُى (*lûn mudammîy*) “a color in which is blackness and redness” (Lane 1867: 917, 925; 1877: 2291).

The Arabic غَمَد (gámada) was used (1) for *sheathing* a sword, (2) for thorns being *concealed* by leaves, (3) for wells having their water *covered* by dirt, (4) for the sky being obscured by clouds, (5) for a cloth put over something to *conceal* it from the eyes of another, (6) for concealing something with a veil, and (7) in expressions like اغْتَمَدَ اللَّيل (‘igtamada ’allayla) “he entered into [the darkness] of the night.” In light of this evidence it is reasonable to conclude that עָמַד, stem II, would mean “to cover, to conceal, to be engulfed in darkness.”

This conclusion is supported by the Syriac **ܚେମା** (ḥemá) “to set, to go down,” the cognate of غَمَد (gámada) and stem II. The בְּבֹאָה-הַשְׁמֵשׁ “about sunset” in II Sam 3:35 and I Kings 22:36, appears in the Syriac as **ܒାଦିଁ-ଖେମା** (*kad di’emad šemšā’*). The basic meaning of the Syriac root is “to plunge, to sink, to set (used with the sun or stars), to immerse, and to baptize” (R. Payne Smith 1901: 666; J. Payne Smith 1957: 416) (see below note 6).

The Arabic دَهَم (dahama) (in forms 2 and 9) means “it blackened, it became black,” with the derivative nouns دَهَمَة

(*duhmat*) “blackness,” (الدھمان) *addahmānu* “the night, أَدْهَم” (*adduhaimu*) “a dark trial or a calamity,” and (الدھم) (*adhamu*) “black.” This last noun was used for “the twenty-ninth night of the [lunar] month because of its blackness,” just as الدھم (*adduhmu*) meant the “three nights of the [lunar] month [during which is the change of the moon] because they are black” (Lane 1867: 925–926; Wehr 1979: 342).

In Gen 15:17 the MT נִיחָי הַשְׁמֹת בָּאָה וַעֲלָתָה קִוָּה “when the sun had gone down and it was dark,” became in the Arabic column of Brian Walton’s *London Polyglot* (1667: 59) فَلَمَّا عَابَتِ الشَّمْسٍ وَكَانَتِ الدَّهْمٌ *falammā ’ābat ’aššamsu wakānat ’adduhma*, with the Hebrew עַלְתָּה “darkness” having been rendered by دَهْم (*duhmu*). Similarly, Castell (1669: 659) noted the use of دَهْم (*duhmu*) in the Arabic translations for the “black horses” mentioned in Zech 6:2, 6, and Rev 6:5. The Akkadian cognate of دَهْم (*duhmu*) was *da’ā mu*, as in the expressions: *id-hi-im šamšum* “the sun became darkened” and *[ūm] ūšu utekkilu šamu id-da[’u-mu]* “the day darkened for him.” (*CAD* 3: 1; KBS I: 214).

In light of the cognates مَدْمَى (*mudammīy*) “blackness” and نَيْدَم (*duhmu*) “to be black or dark,” the מִזְמָרָה in Jos 10:12–13 can well mean “to become dark or black” and can be derived from מִזְמָרָה, a by-form of צִמְמָרָה “to be dark.” Other similar by-forms include (1) נֵר “lamp” and “lamp stand” which are related to נִיר “to shine;” (2) מִילָּה and מִקְהָל “to circumcise”; and (3) the מִזְמָרָה of אֶבְרָם “Abram” which, as traditionally interpreted, is related to the מִזְמָרָה of אֶבְרָהָם “Abraham.”

When the subject of a clause is the *sun* and *moon*, and the verbs are בַּיִלְלָה “to be dark” and עֲמֹד “to conceal,” the statements can be referring to a lunar and solar *eclipse*.⁹ Here, then, is the philological support for the proposal made more than a hundred years ago by Conder (1899: 161–162) that the poetic fragment in Jos 10:12–13 speaks of a total eclipse of the sun. Here, also, is the philological support for the astronomical evidence presented by Sawyer (1972: 140–142) and Stephenson (1975: 119) that the complete solar eclipse of September 30, 1131 B.C. at 12:35 PM (lasting for 4.5 minutes at an altitude of 58°)—which darkened the area between Sidon and Jerusalem—accounts for the solar and lunar phenomena in *The Book of Jasher* cited in Joshua.

Margalit’s (1992: 480–483) more recent contention that neither Habakkuk 3:11 nor Joshua 10:12–13 spoke about “the arrested movement of either the sun or the moon, but rather of the interrupted incandescence of both . . .” is also noteworthy:¹⁰

Though one should never attempt to “explain” such matters in pure naturalistic terms . . . one may nevertheless state with confidence that this motif is the imaginative response to, and literary development of, the relatively rare complete solar-eclipse whose psychological effect on peoples ancient and modern is well known.

By repointing the verb of (Jos 10:13) as a *Niph’al*, the line can be translated “the sun concealed itself while in the middle of the sky.” Similarly, by reading the נֵלֶאָזֶן of the next line, כִּיּוֹם נִמְיָם, as the emphatic נֵלֶאָזֶן “indeed, surely, actually” this line can be translated “and [the sun] *actually* hasten to set as though it were a whole day.”¹¹

The Greek text of Sirach 46:2 (Vaticanus and Sinaiticus) lends support to this interpretation. It reads, ἀνεποδίσεν ὁ ἥλιος καὶ μία ἡμέρα ἐγενήθη πρὸς δύο “the sun changed routine and one day became two.”¹² Ἀνεποδίζω was used regularly for the retrograde or reversal of a planet’s motion (Liddell and Scott 19:66 117). In this verse it suggests that there were two sunrises and two sunsets in a twenty-four hour period, a very logical way to describe what happens as a result of a total solar eclipse when μία became δύο.

REARRANGING THE VERSES

As commonly interpreted, Jos 10:7–15, provides the following sequence of events:

- Joshua’s troops initiated an overnight suprise attack from Gilgal against Gibeon which was held by the anti-Gibeonite coalition.
- Yahweh put the anti-Gibeonite coalition forces to flight, permitting the Israelites to kill many of their enemies in Gibeon.
- *Yahweh finalized* the defeat of the anti-Gibeonite coalition by hurling down hailstones from Beth Horon to Azekah upon those who fled Gibeon, causing heavy casualties.
- *After the victory* against the Amorites, Joshua called for the sun and moon to ‘stand still’ until the Israelites took vengeance on their enemies.
- A quotation from the *Book of Jashar* was cited as the source for the tradition about Joshua’s command to the sun and moon, which resulted in a unique day in history when Yahweh fought for Israel.

- *Then* Joshua returned to Gilgal for a very brief stay before returning to battle ground.

One would expect Joshua to have made his petition to Yahweh (articulated as a command to the sun and moon) at the beginning of his attack upon Gibeon, not at the conclusion of the attack. The mop-up operation described in 10:20 hardly required extra-terrestrial coordination or cooperation.

One possible solution for correcting this unlikely sequence of events would be to recognize that the **וְ** of Jos 10:12 could be the cognate of Arabic **ذل** (*‘id*), an adverbial noun denoting past time, meaning “when” (Lane 1863: 88–89). This is apparently the basis for the NRS paraphrase of **וְ** as “on the day when.” This interpretation would permit 10:12–13 to be read as a short digressive flashback of what took place just prior to Joshua’s assault on Gibeon, meaning: “earlier when Joshua was speaking with Yahweh he said, “Sun, be dark over Gibeon! Moon over the valley of Aijalon!”

An alternative solution is simply to reorder the sequence of several verses/phrases in Jos 10:7–15, along with translating the **בְּרֵד** as “be dark” and the **עַמְּדָה** as “be concealed / engulfed in darkness.”¹³ The following translation may well reflect the original sequence of phrases in this text:

(7) Joshua went up from Gilgal, he and all the people of war with him, and all the mighty men of valor. (12) *Thereupon* Joshua spoke to Yahweh—at the time when Yahweh was to give the Amorites over to the Israelites—and said¹⁴ in the sight of Israel: “Sun, be dark over Gibeon! Moon [be dark] over the valley of Aijalon!”

(8) Then Yahweh said to Joshua: “Do not fear them, for I have given them into your hands; there shall not a man of them

stand before you.” (9) So Joshua came upon them suddenly—all night long he went up from Gilgal. (10a) Yahweh threw them [the Amorites] into a panic before Israel. (13a) *The sun became darkened, and the moon stayed concealed,¹⁵ whereupon¹⁶ the people took vengeance on their enemies* (10b) and slew them with a great slaughter at Gibeon, and chased them by the way of the ascent of Beth Horon, and smote them as far as Azekah and Makkedah.

(11) Then as the [Amorites] fled before Israel, while they were going down the ascent of Beth Horon, Yahweh threw down large stones from the sky upon them as far as Azekah, and they died. There were more who died because of the hailstones than those the Israelites killed with the sword.

(13b) Is it not written in *The Book of Jashar*: “the sun concealed itself while in the middle of the sky and actually hasten to set as though it were a whole day.”

(14) There has been no day like it before or since. Yea!¹⁷ Yahweh hearkened to the voice of a man. Yes!¹⁸ Yahweh fought for Israel.

(15) Then Joshua returned, and all Israel with him, to the camp at Gilgal.

COMMENTARY ON VERSES 7-15

In this sequence of verses it becomes clear that Joshua intended to attack Gibeon directly from Gilgal, requiring a twenty-two mile march for him and his troops. Prior to departure Joshua address Yahweh and provided a hint of his strategy. He commanded (10:12a) *the sun and moon to remain dark* over the area of combat to the west, namely from Gibeon to Ajalon. This hint, hidden in the imperatives “Be dark over Gibeon . . . Be [dark] over Ajalon,” appears also in

the indicative in 10:9 (which, in this scheme, followed 10:12a): “all night long he went up from Gilgal for a surprise attack.”

Darkness was essential for the success of Joshua’s attack against the anti-Gibeonite coalition. Joshua wanted no moonlight or morning sunlight; he wanted a blackout as he approached Gibeon. So intense was Joshua’s plea for darkness he used a directed imperative—rather than intercessory jussives—in his appeal to Yahweh: “O sun, O moon, stay dark!” He was not asking for a *prolonged day* but for a *prolonged night*. He wanted his fighters to travel undetected in the dark as they approached Gibeon some twenty-two miles distant. A shield of darkness would guarantee his success.

The intensity of Joshua’s petition was matched in Yahweh’s response in *word* (“there shall not a man of them stand before you.”) and *deed* (“and Yahweh threw them [the Amorites] into a panic before Israel”).

The moonless overnight march was obviously successful for Joshua; and the opposing forces, no doubt, prepared for a day-long battle. But the Amorites’ panicked when suddenly “*the sun became darkened, and the moon stayed concealed . . . the sun concealed itself while in the middle of the sky and actually hastened to set as though it were a whole day!*”

The solar eclipse, which brought panic to the Amorites, brought inspiration to the Israelites who took advantage of the chaos precipitated by a ‘premature nightfall’ to inflict heavy casualties upon the anti-Gibeonite forces. Following the brief total eclipse (which would have lasted for only several minutes) and the ensuing slaughter at Gibeon which followed the eclipse (which could have lasted for many hours), the fleeing Amorites were further felled in a storm of hailstones from heaven along their route of retreat.

Reports of such divine activity on Israel's behalf were recorded in *The Book of Jasher*, and the narrator/redactor of Joshua 10 injected a quotation from the book as a kind of ‘endnote’ to corroborate this account of the solar eclipse and to validate his assertion that the day the anti-Gibeonite coalition was defeated was a unique day in history. Hail storms come and go, but a solar eclipse turning the sky dark above Gibeon and Ajalon at noontime was a different matter. Joshua wanted only a blackout, a prolonged dark night for safely moving his troops into position around Gibeon. But as recounted in *The Book of Jasher* and in Jos 10:7–13a, he was given not only a moonless night but a solar eclipse during the day, as well—with hailstones from heaven thrown in for good measure. For the deuteronomistic historian, Yahweh had responded to Joshua not only with assuring words but also with astrological and meteorological force.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The Arabic cognates **ذَلِيلٌ** (*‘id*) “earlier when” and **عَنْدَ** (*inda*) “whereupon” provide helpful insights for alternative translations of the **וְאַתָּה** and the **וְעַל** in Jos 10:12–13. Because the verb **עַמֵּד** can be a homograph for the Hebrew cognates of Arabic **عَمَدَ** (*amada*) “to prop up” and **غَمَدَ** (*gamada*) “to conceal,” as well as being the cognate of Syriac **حَمَدَ** (*āmad*) which was used for the setting of the sun or a star,¹⁷ there is no reason to insist that **עַמֵּד** in Jos 10:13 be translated “to stand.”

The MT phrases **וַיַּרְחַק עַמֵּד . . . וַיַּעֲמֹד הַשֶּׁמֶן** can be read with passives verbs: **וַיַּרְחַק עַמֵּד . . . וַיַּעֲמֹד הַשֶּׁמֶן** “the moon was concealed . . . the sun was concealed.” Because **וְ** and **וְ** can be from an **עַל** stem (rather than the **עַמֵּד** stem

דָּמֶן (דָּמַן) and can be derived from the by-form דָּמַן (which is the cognate of Arabic دَهْمَ [duhmu] “to be black or dark” and the Akkadian *da’ā mu* “to be dark”), the דָּמָן . . . דָּמָן of Jos 10:12b–13a can be repointed and translated “Be dark . . . and it became dark.”¹⁹

Despite the ambiguity of Hebrew by-forms and homographs, as well as the limitations of the standard lexicons of Biblical Hebrew, there is compelling lexical evidence for interpreting Jos 10:12–13 as references to the darkened skies associated with a total solar eclipse,²⁰ rather than insisting that the text speaks of the earth doing a cataclysmic and catastrophic quick stop in its orbit around the sun (which is what would have been the reality since, relative to the earth, the sun has never moved).

Setting aside the need to modify the sequence of several phrases and verses in Jos 10:7–13, the MT of Jos 10:12b–13a should be repointed and translated as follows:

שֶׁמֶשׁ בְּגִבְעֹון דָּמָן
וְיַרְחֵךְ בְּעַמְקָן אַיָּלוֹן
וַיַּדְמֵם הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ וְיַרְחֵךְ עַמְּדָה . . .
וַיַּעֲמֵד הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ כְּחִצֵּי הַשְׁמִינִים
וְלֹא אָז לְבֹוא בַּיּוֹם תְּמִימִים

“Sun, be dark over Gibeon!”

“Moon over the valley of Aijalon!”

The sun became darkened,
and the moon was concealed . . .

The sun concealed itself
while in the middle of the sky,
and actually hastened to set
as though it were a whole day!”

NOTES

1. The meaning “motionless” in I Sam 14:9, Jer 47:6 and Job 30:27 is highly suspect. While it is true that men *move*, swords are *wielded*, and bowels are *moved*—so that in all three of the above mentioned verses סְתִּים could mean “cessation of motion”—men, swords, and bowels also make noise, and סְתִּים could just as readily mean “to be silent.” Texts like Jer 8:14, 48:2 and Lam 2:18, which speak of cessation of life and someone’s perishing, are best derived from סָתַם “to cease” rather than סְתִּים “to be dumb.”
2. Note the study of Heller (1966: 73–78) who denied that these verses were about an astronomical miracle. In his view they tell of Yahweh’s silencing the gods Sun and Moon, after which they were powerless to withstand the Israelites. Only after the worship of the sun god and the moon god was forgotten was this tradition reshaped as an astronomical event. See also Nelson (1995: 3–10) who concluded that these verses reflect a demythologizing of tradition, resulting in the sun and the moon becoming only chronological markers instead of deities.
3. Soggin (1972:123) also cited the proposal of J. Phythian-Adams and F. Ceuppens to link the events of Joshua and *The Book of Jasher* to the fall of a meteorite in Asia Minor in the fourteenth century B.C., which, as Soggins noted, was an event at the wrong time and the wrong place to be relevant for understanding these verses.
4. Note Herodotus (II: 142) quotation of Egyptian records which speak of unusual solar events:

Four times in this period [of 11,340 years] (so they told me) the sun rose contrary to his wont; twice he rose where he now sets, and twice he set where he now rises; yet Egypt at these times underwent no change, neither in the produce of the river and the land, nor in the matter of sickness and death.
(Godley 1920, I: 448–449)

A total solar eclipse in the eastern hemisphere could appear to be a sun setting in the east; and a similar eclipse in the western hemisphere could appear to be the sun rising in the west.

5. Holladay summarized his position as follows:

Within this context, the meaning of Josh 10:12c–13b could hardly be more clear. The first stitch is a prayer (or an incantation) that the sun and moon will “stand” (*dmm* = *izuzzum*) in opposition (= *šitqulu*; hence the very necessary reference to Gibeon on the east and the valley of Ajalon to the west) on a day favorable to “the nation” (most probably the fourteenth of the month) rather than to her enemies (the result if the moon were to “flee” from the approaching sun, thus delaying the conjunction until the unfavorable fifteenth of the month).

6. Lane noted that Arabic makes reference to a “false dawn that rises without extending laterally, which appears black, presenting itself like an obstacle [on the horizon]” and a “true dawn” which arises after the first, or false فجر (*fajr*) has disappeared, and with its rising the day commences.” Other meanings of عاد (*'amad*) which are contextually inappropriate include: (1) “to intend, to purpose,” (2) “to oppress,” (3) “to moisten,” (4) “to be angry,” and (5) the Syriac loanword “to baptize” (= معمدان [*mu'midânu*] “Baptist” instead of *غمدان [*mu'gmidânu*], with the غ rather than the غ (Lane 1874: 2151–2153; Wehr 1979: 751ff.).

7. Boling (1982: 284) dismissed this identification as proposed by Gaster (1969: 528), stating, “Usage in this passage is not much clarified by pointing to the Arabic root *dwm*, used specifically of the sun’s turning in its course. . . . [דָּם] means simply ‘stay put,’ to ‘hold a position,’ or ‘strike a pose.’” But these latter meanings also fit دوم (*dûm*), as indicated again in the next note.

8. The Arabic دوم (*dûm*) “still, motionless” is also used with reference to water, such as the water left in a pool by a torrent or the

whirlpool of the sea and the middle of the sea upon which the waves circle. The idea of spinning—yet being motionless—comes from a toy, the دوامة (*duwwāmat*) “a top which spins on the ground by means of a string” (Lane 1867: 937). Note the Rabbinic Hebrew **דָמְדוּמִים חָמָת** “the time in the morning and the evening when the sun appears to stand still or be silent, . . . dawn or sunset” (Jastrow 1903: 312).

9. Stephenson (1975: 118) identified, along with Soggin, the eclipse of June 15, 763 B.C. with Amos 8:9; he also suggested that Joel 2:31 speaks about any one of the three solar eclipses between 356 and 303 B.C. which were total in Judah. Sawyer (1972: 140–144; 1981: 87–89) identified the stellar phenomenon of the stars fighting against Sisera (Jud 5:20) with the 1131 B.C. eclipse since, “Venus was prominent and the bright stars Vega, Spica, Arcturus, and Antares were high in the sky.” If the battle with Sisera was around 1190, as I have argued elsewhere, a reference to the eclipse was not a part of the Deborah tradition originally.

10. Lacking any real lexical support, aside from Rabbinic Hebrew **דָמְדוּמִים** “dusk/twilight” (though he failed to mention that **דָמְדוּמִים** is also used for “dawn,” as mentioned above in note 8), Margalit argued his case as follows:

It is easily shown that one of the most frequent motifs in the “Day-of-the-Lord” tradition is that of “daytime darkness”. The motif underlies the ironic taunt of the prophet in Amos v 8, and the pronouncements of doom by the same prophet in viii 9ff. In neither of these texts is the “darkness” merely metaphoric for doom. Together in such texts as Isa. xiii and xxxiv; Joel iii–iv; and Zeph. i, they point to “darkness” as a standard fixture of storm-god theophany and divine warfare.

11. The literature on the emphatic **ל** continues to grow. Note especially Blommerde (1969: 31, with a list of thirteen references),

Richardson (1966: 89), McDaniel (1968: 206–208); Dahood (1975: 341–342); Whitley (1975: 202–204; and Huehnergard (1983: 569–593, especially 591). Soggin (1972: 76–77) identified its presence also in Jos 5:14.

12. Codex Alexandrinus has ἐνεποδίσθη ὁ ὥλιος “the sun was foot-cuffed,” which reflects a mistake of an initial ε̄ for an initial ᾱ. (Note the B-text of Jud 5:22 where it is used with horses being foot-cuffed.)

13. Other texts which require major changes in the sequence of phrases/verses include, for example, Ezek 13:17–23; 28: 2–23; and Zech 4:1–10. (See Chapters XXI and XXII below.)

14. Boling (1982: 283) would make Yahweh the subject of this verb. Were the phrase “he spoke in the hearing of Israel” rather than “he said in the sight of Israel,” this suggestion may have some merit. But to have Yahweh being *seen* while speaking to Israel adds an unnecessary difficulty to the text since seeing Yahweh could be fatal. The Greek text has Joshua by name as the subject here.

15. A solar eclipse occurs when the moon passes between the earth and the sun. Consequently, the reflected light from the moon would then face the sun, not the earth. On earth the moon would be concealed somewhere in the darkness.

16. The נְעָם in this case is not the common preposition meaning “as far as, up to, until,” but the cognate of Arabic *عَنْ* (*inda*) used as an adverbial noun of time meaning “at, upon, thereupon, where-upon” (Lane 1874: 2171). The medial נ of עַנְעָם was assimilated creating a homograph, though not a homophone, of נְעָם “until.”

17. Reading the נ here as an emphatic particle (=נְ). See note 11.

18. Reading the ה here as an asseverative particle. For other examples and bibliography, see McDaniel 1968: 210.

19. This reading of the text also frees the interpreter of Joel 2:31 from having to find evidence that the moon turned into blood or into the color of blood (see Chapter XXIII). While Stephenson cited numerous witnesses over the centuries who reported that the moon turned red during a solar eclipse, reports of the August 11, 1999, solar eclipse speak of a wide variety of colors, including ruby-red. Were the color *red* the intent of the authors of *The Books of Jasher* and Joshua, בְּדָק, rather than בְּדַי, would have been the word of choice, and if “like (the color of) blood” had been intended, בְּדַבֵּר, rather than the MT בְּדָל, would have been the prepositional phrase of choice.

20. Reading the MT of Jos 10:12–13 as poetic lines speaking of a moonless night and a total solar eclipse raise the possibility of dating the eclipse. With 3,190 total solar eclipses having occurred or having been predicted to occur between 2000 B.C. to 3000 C.E., the only one that approximates the time of Joshua is the eclipse of September 30, 1131 B.C. at 12:35 PM. Whether Joshua’s activities are compatible with this time frame is a separate issue and needs further study.

XI

HULDAH: THE GUARDIAN OF TRADITION II KINGS 22:14 AND II CHR 34:22

INTRODUCTION

According to the record of II Kings 22:14 and II Chr 34:22 the prophetess Huldah was consulted, on behalf of King Josiah, by the court's most distinguished dignitaries: Hilkiah the high priest, Shaphan the royal secretary, and the royal officials Ahikam, Achbor, and Asahiah, in order for her to evaluate the scroll found in the Temple renovation of 621 B.C. Swidler (1978: 1783), celebrated Huldah's interview with the dignitaries as the initial step in developing the canon, stating

The authority to pass judgment on this initial entry into the canon was given to a woman. At the beginning of the Bible we find Huldah; in her we discover the first scripture authority, the founder of biblical studies.

Huldah's praise was also sounded by Phipps (1990: 14) who quoted Swidler's admiration and added his own observation.

Modern readers might be amazed that a male high priest and a male secretary of state would be part of a group seeking expert knowledge from a woman, but the ancient historian does not express surprise at the situation

Phipps concluded his article with this appeal:

It is time to restore Huldah to her rightful place. She was the first to place a seal of approval on a scroll. . . . She deserves to be honored as the patron saint of textual critics across the ages who seek to validate what is divinely inspired.

Tradition, however, has not dealt kindly with Huldah. Ginzberg (1938, VI: 377), citing *Megillah* 14^b, noted

Eminence is not for women; two eminent women are mentioned in the Bible, Deborah and Huldah, and both are proved to be of a proud disposition. Deborah was haughty towards Barak . . . and the prophetess Huldah spoke of Josiah as the “man” (comp. 2 Kings 22:15), without giving him the title king. This “unpleasant” feature of their character is indicated by their “ugly” names. The former was called Deborah “bee”, and the latter Huldah “weasel”.

This derivation of Huldah’s name as “weasel” was the only thing Curtis (1910: 510) felt compelled to note about Huldah in his commentary on Chronicles; and Montgomery (1951: 527) in his commentary on Kings did little more to honor her than to suggest that her name really meant “snail.” Myers (1965: 207) limited his comments on Huldah to one sentence: “The prophecy delivered by Huldah was an uncomfortable one as may be seen from the substitution of ‘all the crises’ for ‘all the words’; this may be more a specific application of Deut xxvii, xxix 20.”

A bit more generous statement about Huldah came from Gray (1970: 726), who paraphrased the king’s command to the dignitaries, **לְכֻם דָרְשׁוּ אֲחִידָה**, as “go consult *the oracle of Yahweh*,” [italics mine] and concluded,

The status of the prophetess Huldah is interesting in view of the fact that both canonical prophets Jeremiah and Zephaniah were already active at that time. It was probably felt that such independent spirits would give an answer which the priests considered *ultra vires*, whereas Huldah, the wife of a minor Temple official, would give the divine authority to what they sought without embarrassing them.

HULDAH’S REAL NAME

Although it is possible to derive Huldah’s name from **חַלֵד**, stem II, “to dig, to hollow out” or from **חַלֵד** “weasel” (= خلد)

100 HULDAH — THE GUARDIAN OF TRADITION

[*hald/huld/hild*] “a mole, a blind rat” [Lane 1865: 784]) there is no reason to ignore—as have the commentators of the past—stem I حَلَّد which is a cognate of خَلَد (*halada*) “to abide, to continue,” often used in the *Qur'an* of the righteous in Paradise, meaning (as cited in BDB 317) “duration, world (αἰών, not κόσμος).”¹

A more careful look at this Arabic cognate is warranted. Lane (1865: 784) provided a lengthy definition, including the fact that خَلَد (*halada*) can mean “he was slow in becoming hoary when advanced in years; as though he were created to continue for ever.” The derivative مُخَلَّد (*muhallad*) appears in the *Qur'an* in Suras 56:17 and 86:19 (“they will be waited on by the *ageless*”). The word may be used for those whose hair remains black after they have aged or whose teeth remain despite the years. Lane (1865: 784) defined it as “always of the same age: never altering in age: or endowed with perpetual vigour; that never become decrepit; or that never exceeds the fit age for service.” Also of interest is خَالِد (*hâlid*) meaning “everlasting, perpetual, immortal, undying, unforgettable, glorious” (Wehr 1979: 294). Lane and Wehr also cite خَلَد (*halad*) “mind, heart, spirit, temper.”

There are obviously multiple layers of meaning for the name Hulda. Were she *ageless* it would suggest that she was mature enough to deserve the compliment. Combine the age factor with the mind/heart element and the result becomes a matronly “sage.” Or she may have been blessed with perpetual youthfulness, though obviously not immortality.

HULDAH'S TITLES

Hulda clearly has the title נָבִיא “prophetess,” but hidden in the MT of II Kings 24:14 and II Chr 34:22 is another title

which has been given, except in the Greek text of Chronicles, to her husband. Another look at the text is in order.

חִלְדָה הַנּוֹבִיאָה
 אֲשֶׁת שָׁלָם בָּנוֹתָקָוָה בָּנוֹתָרָחָס
 שָׁמֵר הַבְגָדִים
 וְהִיא יָשַׁבְת בֵּירְתָלִים בְּמִשְׁנָה

Huldah, the prophetess
 wife of Shallum ben Tiqwah, ben Ḥarḥas,
 keeper of the clothes
 and she was dwelling in Jerusalem in the Mišneh.
 (II Kings 22:14)²

Commentators have puzzled over Josiah's requesting the help of an unknown prophetess whose one credential is that she is the wife of the "keeper of the garments" (which were probably vestments of the court and/or the cult). Being the wife of a valet of the high priest or the king hardly qualified her to function as an advisor to the throne and temple. With prophets like Jeremiah, Zephaniah, and Nahum being available why go to Huldah? Speculation suggests that they may have been out of town or that they would not have spoken favorably to the royal and religious authorities.

A better answer can be found by looking more closely at the MT שָׁמֵר הַבְגָדִים "keeper of the clothes." Standard lexicons recognize two meanings of בְגָד: "treachery" (which can be ruled out in this context since Shallum was hardly the guardian of court conspiracies) and "clothing, raiment." But a third definition needs to be added, a definition which is perfect for this context. It would be stem III and the cognate of Arabic بَجْدَة (*bajdat / bujudat*) "the true, or real, state and

102 HULDAH — THE GUARDIAN OF TRADITION

circumstances thereof; the positive, or established, truth thereof,” as in the expression امرک عالم بیجذة هو (*hū ‘âlmun bibaj-dati ’amrika*) “he is acquainted with the inward, or intrinsic, state or circumstances of thy affair : or with the true, or real, state or circumstances thereof; with the positive or established, truth thereof” (Lane 1863: 153).

Lane called attention to the synonym of *bajdat*, *بجدة* (*asl*) which has three meanings relevant for understanding *bajdat*: (1) “the fundamental or essential part of a thing . . . the fundamental articles or dogmas, principles, elements or rudiments, of a science etc.”; (2) “an original copy of a book : and a copy of a book from which one quotes, or transcribes, any portion”; and (3) “the prime of a thing; the principal, purest, best, choicest, part thereof; what is, or constitutes, the most essential part thereof; its very essence” (Lane 1863: 65).

With these definitions of שָׁמֵר *habdgim* in mind, שָׁמֵר *habdgim* takes on quite a different meaning. Shallum would have been “the guardian of the essential truth,” the “guardian of the traditions,” or even the “guardian of the original texts.” But was he? If *he* was the guardian of texts or traditions, why was he not consulted by King Josiah and the high priest Hilkiah? Why would they have dealt with his wife rather than with him?

The answer to these questions is in the repointing and redvision of the MT שָׁמֵר *habdgim*. By shifting the space between the two words by one letter, שָׁמֵר *habdgim* becomes שָׁמַר *habdgim* *shmrh bgdym*, a feminine participle with its direct object, “she-who-guards the texts/traditions” or “she-who-guards the essential truths.” By the shifting of one letter, Huldah’s title emerges from the MT, a title which was always there in the Septuagint with its feminine participle φυλάσσουσαν “the

woman guardian” (Liddell and Scott 1966: 1961). Moreover, the Septusgint manuscripts have her guarding the ἐντόλας, the “commandments/ordinances.”³

Since the feminine participle שָׁבַת “dwelling” in the next phrase has the usual form ending with a ה, the *Vorlage* could have been שָׁמְרָת בְּגִדִים, reflecting a confusion of a ת and a ה, a common error well documented by Delitzsch (1920: 107 §105^{a,b}) like the *Qere* and the *Kethib* of Jer 52:21 קומֶת / קומֶת “the height of one pillar,” which reads in the parallel text of I Kings 7:15 as קומֶת הַעֲמֹד הַאֲחֵר.

HULDAH'S RESIDENCE

The וְהִיא יָשַׁבְת בֵּרֶשֶׁלִים בְּמִשְׁנָה of the MT مִשְׁנָה, “she was dwelling in Jerusalem in *mishnah*,” has been variously interpreted. The Septuagint simply transliterated it as μασσανα. The KJV rendered it as “college”; but most other translations have settled for the “Second District” or “Second Quarter,” although the NJB ventured “the new town.”

It just may be that בְּמִשְׁנָה in the *Vorlage* did not reference a place, but a condition, namely “in her old age” (= בְּמִשְׁנָה). The noun מִשְׁן would be the cognate of Arabic مسن (*musinn*) “old age, advanced in years.” The stem would be سن (= sanna), as in the expression دَوْيِ اسْنَان (dawiyā 'asnān) “the advanced in age or extent, of life; [the age attained;] used in relation to human beings and others” (Lane 1872: 1437–1439; noted also by Wehr 1979: 506). If חֲלֵד meant “one who is perpetually youthful,” *Huldah* would by definition be “in her old age” (= בְּמִשְׁנָה). Her seniority may well have made her the prime candidate for consultation by the king and high priest, even though younger prophets were on the scene.

104 HULDAH — THE GUARDIAN OF TRADITION

The “college” in the KJV was derived from the Aramaic **מָתְנִיתָא** “teacher” and **מַתְנִיתָה** “college” (Jastrow 864, 1679; BDB 1040). On the other hand, **מִשְׁנָה**, as a noun of place, need not be from **שְׁנָה/שְׁנוֹה** “to repeat, to teach.” It may be related to the Arabic سَنَة (*sanna*) as the place where the commandments of God are disclosed, as in the expressions: (1) **لِلنَّاسِ سَنَةٌ لِلَّهِ سُنْتَهُ** (*sanna 'llahu sunnathu lilanâs*) “God manifested, or made known, his statutes, or ordinances, and commands and prohibitions, [i.e. his laws,] to men,” and (2) **سَنَةُ الْأَمْرِ** (*sanna 'l'amra*) “he manifested, or made known, the thing, affair or case” (Lane 1872: 1436). Either derivation supports the tradition in the Targum (on II Kings 22:14 and II Chron 24:22) that Huldah had an “academy” in Jerusalem.

CONCLUSION

Far from being an “ugly” name meaning “Weasel” or “Mole,” Huldah is the feminine equivalent of **خَالِد** (*hâlid*) “glorious” or the very complimentary way of saying that someone is “perpetually young” or “ageless.” True to her name, as interpreted above, Huldah remains an unforgettable righteous woman, a matronly sage, in the annals of Israelite tradition, giving her a kind of immortality. Philological evidence has been offered in support of the Greek text of Chronicles which identified her as “the guardian of the commandments.” She may well have been the guardian of “texts, traditions, and truth,” in light of the semantic range of the Arabic feminine cognate **بَجْدَاتٍ** (*bajdat*) (= بَجْدَةٌ “traditions”).

Although the MT **מִשְׁנָה** could refer to (1) Huldah’s residence in the “Second Quarter” of Jerusalem, or (2) to her being “advanced in years,” or (3) to her “college/academy,”

it is impossible to disassociate מִשְׁנָה from מִשְׁנָה “verbal teaching by repeated recitation.” Even though the Mishnah, as a collection of oral laws compiled after 200 C.E., is irrelevant to Huldah’s moment in history, there may be more than a hint here that מִשְׁנָה referred to oral tradition. It is not likely that Huldah compared scrolls like a textual critic. Were she in possession of scrolls, it would be difficult to account for the royal surprise when the temple scroll appeared. It seems more likely that Huldah was “the guardian of the oral tradition.”

Her title “guardian of the commandments” (with the Septuagint of II Chronicles) or “guardian of the (oral) traditions,” as I prefer, supports Handy’s (1994: 53) conclusion that

Huldah’s purpose as a character in the narrative is exactly what the omen priests in the Mesopotamian traditions had been. Through her the deity is allowed to confirm what previously had been revealed to the ruler by other means.

NOTES

1. See <http://tmcdaniel.palmerseminary.edu/huldah.html> for viewing the lexical items cited in this study.
2. II Chron 34:22 has בָּנוֹתֶקְנָה בָּנוֹתֶחֱסָרָה for the בָּנוֹתֶקְנָה בָּנוֹתֶחֱסָרָה in II Kings 22:14. Chronicles also has φυλάσσουσαν τὰς ἐντόλας “the (woman) guarding the commandments,” whereas Kings has τοῦ ἴματιοφύλακος “the (male) keeper of the wardrobe.”
3. The printed editions of the Septuagint read στολάς “clothes,” assuming ἐντόλας “commandments” was a scribal error. Most commentators have ignored this variant in the Septuagint, though some, like Curtis (1910: 510), BHK, and BHS, would emend the MT וְאַשְׁר אָמַר הַמֶּלֶךְ to וְאַשְׁר הַמֶּלֶךְ in light of the Septuagint’s καὶ οἵ εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεὺς “whom the king commanded.”

XII
THE GOOD SAMARITAN
NAMED *ODED* IN
II CHRONICLES 28: 5–15

INTRODUCTION

According to Isa 7:1–17, the Syro-Ephramite war against Judah created terror in the royal house of David, precipitating Isaiah’s pronouncement to King Ahaz of the sign of Immanuel: “God is with us.” But nothing in Isa 7:1–8:15 hinted at the heavy casualties suffered in Judah at the hands of King Rezin of Syria and King Pekah of Israel.¹ They were simply dismissed by Isaiah as “two smoldering stumps of firebrands” (7:4) who would shortly be snuffed out. Similarly, II Kings 16:5 spoke only of Jerusalem’s having been besieged by Pekah and Rezin, neither of whom could conquer Judah or Jerusalem—with no reference to the heavy casualties inflicted upon Ahaz’ family and kingdom.

But in II Chron 28:6–8 it is stated that following Rezin’s defeat of Ahaz (with no casualty figures given), Pekah killed 120,000 (**מֵאָה וּשְׁנִים אֶלָף**) men in Judah in one day and captured 200,000 (**מֵאֲתִים אֶלָף**)² men, women, and children who were taken to Samaria to be enslaved by their victorious northern kinfolk.³ The Ephraimite hero Zichri killed Ahaz’ son, Maaseiah, as well as the governor (**נְגִיד הַבַּיִת**) Azrikam and Elkanah who was “second to the king” (**מְשֻׁנָּה הַמֶּלֶךְ**).⁴

However, the **אֶלָף** in these verses need not mean “thousand” but could be a singular masculine *collective noun*⁵ like

the *collective* שְׁבִיָּה “captives, a body of captives,” found in verses 5, 11, 13, 14, and 15, and the בִּזְבֵּחַ “spoil, spoils,” found in verse 14. The אֶלְגָּה here could mean “units” or “contingents,” and could be related to the Arabic الْفَلْ (“ifl) “a constant companion or associate; a mate, a fellow, a yoke-fellow, a comrade” (Lane 1863: 80; Wehr 1979: 28–29).⁶ Because the fallen defenders were identified in II Chron 28:6 as בְּנֵי־חַיִל “men of valor,” the collective noun אֶלְגָּה could have been a synonym of גָּדוֹדִים used elsewhere for military units of unspecified size. The narrator’s choice of the collective אֶלְגָּה “unit” may well have been due to its approximation in sound to אֶלְף “thousand,” the overtones of which could have suggested an unbelievably large number of casualties sustained by the 120 military *units* defending Judah and Jerusalem, as well as countless women and children—presumably surviving family members of Judah’s and Benjamin’s slain defenders—who had been divided into 200 *bands* of captives and taken to Samaria to become the slaves.⁷

Oded, the Samaritan prophet of Yahweh, confronted the victorious Samaritans and Ephraimites upon their return from Judah and Jerusalem with a *command*, “Return the captives you took from your brothers!” and a *threat*, “Otherwise the violent wrath of God will fall upon you!” (28:11). Four Ephraimite leaders reiterated Oded’s *imperative*, “You must not bring the captives here!” followed by the *accusation*, “You propose to multiply our sin and our guilt although our guilt is now sufficient to bring violent wrath upon Israel.”

Faced with this opposition of Oded and his colleagues, the Ephraimite army officers—who killed and captured at will in Judah—acceded to the demands of Oded, Amasa, Azariah,

Berechiah, and Jehizkiah: “so the soldiers⁸ left the captives and the booty before the officials and all the assembly” (**הַשְׂרִים וְכָל־הַקּוֹחַל**) (II Chron 28:14, NRS).

According to Josephus, the confrontation of Oded with the booty-laden soldiers occurred before the city walls. This reflects Josephus’ reading the **הַשְׂרִים** of 28:14 as “the walls”⁹ (rather than as **הַשְׂרִים** “the princes”), which he transposed to the start of Oded’s confrontation to indicated Oded’s location. In light of the collocation of “people” congregated at the “wall” when Rabshakeh confronted Eliakim and his colleagues (II Kings 18: 26; Isa 36:11), reading the **הַשְׂרִים** as **הַשְׂרִים**, in agreement with Josephus, remains an attractive option: “the captives were released outside the city-walls in front of all the assembled (townsmen).”

The phrase **הָאֲנָשִׁים אֲשֶׁר־נִקְבּוּ בְשִׁמׁוֹת**, meaning literally “the men who were pricked off by names,”¹⁰ is thought to mean “the men who were designated/mentioned by name,” a reference to Amasa, Azariah, Berechiah, and Jehizkiah, appearing in 28:12. Having only these four men responsible for the repatriation of 200,00 captives (or 200 bands of captives) reinforces the conclusion of some readers that this narrative is a midrashic fiction rather than a historical recollection.

However, two Arabic cognates permit a more realistic reading of 28:15a. First, the **נִקְבּוּ** of **נִקְבּוּ בְשִׁמׁוֹת** though commonly derived from **נִקֵּב** “to pierce, to prick off” (BDB 666), is more likely a *Niph‘al* denominative of **קָבַב**, the cognate of Arabic **قَبَّ** (*qabb*) “a head, chief, ruler . . . or elder upon [the control of] whom the affairs of the people, or

party, turn” (Lane 1885: 2478). With this cognate in mind, נִקְבָּו would mean “they were designated to be in charge.”¹¹

Secondly, the plural שִׁמׁُות “names” may well be a homograph of another noun which would be the cognate of Arabic سُومَة (*sūmat*) and سِيمَة (*sīmat*) “a mark, sign, token, or badge, by which a thing/person is known . . . such as is used in war or battle,” and تَسْوِم (*tasawim*) “he set a mark, badge, upon himself, whereby he might be known [in war etc.]” (Lane 1872: 1475–1476). With these two definitions in focus, the MT נִיקְבָּו הָאֲנָשִׁים אֲשֶׁר־נִקְבָּו בְּשִׁמׁُות can be translated “the men, who were designated by badges to be in charge, arose.” These clearly identifiable relief workers appropriated the booty for distribution to the victims, precluding any cheating by combatants pretending to have legitimate access to the spoils. In a remarkable act of charity inspired by Amasa, Azariah, Berechiah, and Jehizkiah, and Oded the relief workers took their kinsfolk down to Jericho and then returned to Samaria.

THE PROPHET ODED

Jewish and Christian traditions have generally ignored this Samaritan prophet of Yahweh, for Oded goes virtually unnoticed in the literature of the church and synagogue.¹² In the 515 page index volume of Louis Ginzberg’s *The Legends of the Jews*, Oded is not even listed among the approximately 25,000 entries of names, places, and topics. Commentators have paid him scant attention. Curtis and Madsen (1910: 458–459), for example, covered II Chron 28:9–15 with just twenty lines of general commentary, and Myers (1965: 162–163)

covered the Oded passage in seventeen lines of text. Spencer (1984: 317–349) provided, by contrast, an excellent study of the Oded tradition and has convinced this writer that Jesus' parable of the good Samaritan recorded in Luke 10: 30–35 was no doubt grounded in this story of the Samaritan Oded.

MEANINGS OF THE NAME ODED

The Ugaritic *‘dd* “to narrate, to repeat” or *ǵdd* “to rejoice, to surge” (KBS II: 789; UT 463: 1947) and the Phoenician **עָדֵךְ** “envoyer, quelque sorte devin,” used as a synonym of **חִזֵּין** “seer, prophet” (Jean and Hoftijzer 1965: 204; Donner and Röllig 1962: 208) could be cognates of **עָדֵךְ**. However, in light of the close relationship of **עַ** and **וַ** stems, like **מַכְּבֵּךְ** and **מַוְשֵׁךְ** “to be low,” **מַפְּשֵׁךְ** and **מַזְּקֵךְ** “to feel, to grope,” and **נַדְּךְ** and **נַדְּךְ** “to flee” (GKC § 77^b), the following Arabic roots are also likely to be the cognates of Hebrew **עָדֵךְ** / **עָדֵךְ** and relevant for our understanding the multiple nuances of Oded's name which underlie this narrative.

The first cognate is عَادِي (*‘awdī*) “old, ancient,” as in the phrases زَاهِم بِعُودٍ أَوْدَعْ (*zâhim bi‘awdi ‘awda*) “ask thou aid of a person of age and knowledge” and عُودٌ عَلَى عُودٍ عَلَى عُودٍ خَلْقٍ (*‘awd ‘lay ‘awd ‘lay ‘awd *ḥalaq**) “an old man upon an old camel upon an old worn road” (Lane 1874: 2190).

This cognate of **עָדֵךְ** (= Oded “the elder”) suggests that “Oded” may have been a title for the prophet rather than the name given at birth.¹³ As an elder prophet his authority would have been at its maximum. Along with Amasa, Azariah, Berechiah, and Jehizkiah (the **רֹאשִׁים בְּנֵי אֲפָרִים** “the chiefs

of the Ephraimites”) Oded was among Samaria’s elders who had enough political clout to demand obedience from general officers, conscripts, and volunteers.¹⁴ This interpretation finds some support from Josephus (*Antiquities* 9: 250; Naber 1889, II: 310) who recognized Berechiah as εὐδοκιμούντων ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ “one of high reputation in the government [of Samaria].”

The second cognate, noted in BDB (728–729) and KBS (II: 795–796), is عָד (*‘awd*) “he returned, restored,” a synonym of رَدَ (*radda*) “he made, or caused, to return, go back, or revert; sent, turned, or put, back, or away . . . anything returned after it has been taken,” corresponding exactly to أَعَادَ (*a‘ādhu*) “he returned it; he restored it,” form IV of عُود (*‘awd*) (Lane 1874: 2189). This cognate of שָׁדֵךְ (= “Oded” = “Restorer”) suggests that *Oded*, as a *Pōlēl* infinitive of עָוֹד or the *Qal* participle of שָׁדַּךְ, was comparable to the *Pōlēl* participle מִשְׁבֵּב “restorer” appearing as a name in I Chron 4:34.

As Curtis and Madsen (1910: 459) noted, “One Hebrew might hold another in bondage for a limited period, but such wholesale slavery of fellow-countrymen by reprisal in war was never contemplated.”¹⁵ The innovative violation of the Torah at the expense of fellow Israelites (which included Judah and Benjamin, as traditionally defined) was more than Oded and his colleagues could tolerate. Their demand was absolute and non-negotiable. Noah may well have initiated slavery in his family with his curse upon Canaan, but Oded would not sanction slavery in his extended family which included Benjamin and Judah. Oded’s “brethren” (with אֶחָד used for women and children) had to be set free to avoid the wrath of God. The elder (עוֹד / שָׁדֵךְ) Oded lived up to the

second nuance of his name when he *caused* the captives to be sent home (**עֲדָד** / **עוֹד**).

The third cognate of **עֲדָד** is Arabic **عَادِ** (*‘âd*) “a visitor of one who is sick” along with its feminine **عَادِيَة** (*‘âdiyat*) “kindness, pity, compassion, or mercy, a benefit, an act of beneficence or kindness” (Lane 1874: 2191), which suggests that **עֲדָד** could also be a synonym of **חִסְכָּר** “mercy, kindness.” With this cognate in focus—and paraphrasing the text—the prophet Oded can be recognized as the “*senior seer*” (**הַעֲדָד**) of Samaria who became the “*merciful emancipator*” (**הַעֲדָד הַעֲדָד**) of Jews consigned to slavery.

CONCLUSION

It is a bit ironic that the fictional good Samaritan of Jesus’ parable, who rescued one Jewish victim of highway robbery, has become proverbial, whereas the historical good Samaritans Amasa, Azariah, Berechiah, Jehizkiah, and Oded—who rescued 200 **אֶלְף** (= “thousand”/“bands”) of Jewish victims of war—remain virtually unknown. It would be equally ironic if the mere misreading of **אֶלְף** as **אֶלְף אֶלְף** “a thousand” rather than as **אֶלְף אֶלְף** “a unit, band, group, contingent” precipitated the transformation of II Chron 28: 9–15 from a short but memorable historical notice into an exaggerated and incredulous midrashic fiction.

Once **אֶלְף** is read as **אֶלְף אֶלְף** “unit” rather than **אֶלְף אֶלְף** “thousand,” the exaggerated midrashic features of the Oded narrative disappear. The one hundred twenty military *units* and two hundred *bands* of captives fall well within historical and logical boundaries. Oded appears only in verses 9–11, but his presence is felt throughout the entire story. What the narrative lacks in quantity is compensated for by high drama. Led by

Oded and his four colleagues, a goodly number of godly Samaritans and Ephraimites fulfilled the commandment: “You shall love your kin (**עַד**) as yourself . . . and not incur guilt on account of him” (Lev 19:18).

NOTES

1. Compare Josephus, *Antiquities* 9: 245 (Whiston, 1974, III: 42; Naber 1889, II: 309):

when the king of Syria had taken the city Elath, upon the Red Sea, and had slain the inhabitants, he peopled it with Syrians; and when he had slain those in the [other] garrisons, and the Jews in their neighborhood, and had driven away much prey, he returned with his army back to Damascus . . .

2. The Greek text reads τριακοσίας χιλιάδας “300,000,” perhaps due to a partial dittography in the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint in which the MT **מֵאָת מֵאָתִים** appeared as **מֵאָת מֵאָתִים** (100 + 200) which were then added together for a total of 300,000. The dittography of the **מֵאָת** could have come from an error involving the **מֵאָת** of **מֵאָתִים** “from their brethren” in which the **מֵ** and **מֵאָת** were confused. For the confusion of **מֵ** and **מֵאָת**, see Delitzsch, 1920: 110 §106^{d-e}. Curtis and Madsen (1910: 459) noted this Greek variant, but offered no explanation; Myers (1965: 162–163) made no reference to the Greek text or the variants in Josephus.

3. The Hittite and Egyptian combatants in the famed Battle of Kadesh numbered only 40,000 (Breasted, 1906, III: 130). When it is realized that Yankee Stadium in New York has a seating capacity of just under 58,000 and Veterans Stadium in Philadelphia can hold just under 63,000, it is obvious that the numbers in II Chron 28: 6–8 are either exaggerated or mean something other than “thousands.” The **אֶלְלָה** could be an acronym, rather than a number per se, in which the **אֶלְלָה** = **אֱלֹהִים** or **אִילָה** “chief” (the **רָאשׁ אִילָה**), the

ל = **נְשִׁים** “the fighting men,” (Ps 35:1), and the ב = **פָּרִים** = “the officers” (2 Kgs 25:19); or the ל = 30 = **שְׁלֹשִׁים** = “the officers,” and the ב = **פָּלוּאָה** “unnamed others” = “rank-and-file.” Note also BDB (48–49) for references to **לָרַא** “to learn,” **בָּהֳרָה** “cattle,” **אֲלֹוֶת** “tame,” **אֲלֹוֵחָה** “friend,” and **אֲלֹוֹחָה** “chief.”

4. Josephus (*Antiquities*, 9: 246–247; Whiston, 1974 III: 42; Naber 1889, II: 309) has several variations with respect to what happened to whom. His account reads as follows.

Accordingly there were slain by the Israelites one hundred and twenty thousand of his men that day, whose general, Amaziah by name, slew Zechariah the king’s son, in his conflict with Ahaz, as well as the governor of the kingdom, whose name was Azri-cam. He also carried Elkanah, the general of the troops of the tribe of Judah, into captivity. They also carried the women and children of the tribe of Benjamin captives; and when they had gotten a great deal of prey, they returned to Samaria.

5. See GKC §123^{a,b}.

6. Note the ambiguity of **أَلْوَف** (*‘ulūf*) (= **الْأَلْ**) in the *Qur'an* (*Sura* 2: 244) which has been interpreted as “thousands” or as “united bands” (Lane 1863: 80; Bell 1937, I: 35, note 1).

7. Compare I Kings 20:28–30, where it is alleged that the Israelites killed 100,000 foot soldiers of the Syrians in one day, followed by 27,000 other soldiers being crushed when the wall of Aphek fell upon them. Following the figures cited above in footnote 3, it would take fewer than 29,000 people to half-fill Yankee Stadium in New York, suggesting that the **לָאֵל** “thousand” in this narrative requires an alternative definition, such as the one proposed here.

8. The term **מַלְיוּץ** “equipped for war” is used here, suggesting that Oded and his colleagues had bravely approached soldiers who were more ready for battle than for a victory parade.

9. In Arabic سور (*sûr*) is used exclusively for the wall of a city or town (Lane 1872: 1464).

10. The phrase appears also in Num 1:17; I Chron 12:31; 16:41; and II Chron 31:19. For its derivation, see BDB 666.

11. The stems נָקַב, קָבַב, and may be interrelated like their Arabic counterparts: (1) قَبْ (*qabb*) “a head, chief, ruler; (2) أَقْتَابَهُ (*‘aqtabahu*) “he chose, selected, elected, or preferred him”; and (3) نَقِيبْ (*naqîb*) “the intendant, superintendent, overseer, inspector” (Lane 1885: 2478, 2570; 1893: 2834).

12. In forty five years of ministry as a pastor, an educational missionary, and a seminary professor, the author found few students, fellow pastors, or faculty colleagues who had ever heard of Oded.

13. The prophetess Huldah may also have been called upon by King Josiah, rather than Jeremiah, because of her age. (See Chapter XI above.)

14. Conrad (1980: 127) wrote concerning those who were recognized as elders

City elders exercised extensive authority well into the early period of the Israelite state. They are the guardians of the internal order of their community, and therefore exercised local jurisdiction. . . . During the course of the monarchy, the elders of the two capitals, Jerusalem and Samaria, became part of the upper stratum in the increasingly centralized government, so that they now appear alongside other dignitaries, especially royal officials (2 K. 10:1, 5; Lam 1:19; 2:9f.; 4:16; 5:12). They have thus been divested of their original autonomy; but their power has probably increased significantly, to the extent that in their new role they influence the entire body politic.

15. Curtis and Madsen (1910: 459) cited Exo 21:2ff, Lev 25:39–43, and Deut 15:12–18 as relevant texts dealing with slavery among the Israelites.

XIII

THE MEANINGS OF *KARPAS*: MULTI-COLORED, COTTON, AND CELERY¹

ETYMOLOGIES

This quadriliteral (consonantal) कर्पास (*karpāsa*) (where the *s* is a part of the stem) is unrelated to the Greek triliteral (consonantal) stem καρπός “fruit” (which is used in the Septuagint for nine different Hebrew words) or καρπός “wrist” (use in the Septuagint for Τ and Π).⁴ The *ς* of καρπός (with either meaning) is a case ending, analogous to the final *s* of Sanskrit *karpāsas* as cited in Liddell and Scott.⁵

Moreover, this quadriliteral (consonantal) कर्पास (*karpāsa*) “cotton” is unrelated to the Persian کرفس (*karfas*) and the Aramaic-Hebrew קרפס “celery, parsley,” which appears in

Syriac as ܟܼܾܻܶ k̄erapsâ' and in Arabic as كَرْفَس (karafs)—with no interchange in the Persian, Arabic, Aramaic, Hebrew, and Syriac of the ܟ and ܻ, as with ܟܼܾܻܶ = κάρπασος, κάρ-βασος, and the Latin *carbasus* “cotton, linen, flax” (Castell 1669: [Persico-Latinum] 444, 449; BDB 502; Jastrow 673).

JOSEPH'S TUNIC

In 2 Samuel 13:18–19 the MT כְּתַנֵּת פְּסִים, used with reference to Tamar’s royal robe,⁶ was translated χιτών καρπωτός “a tunic (reaching) the wrist.” If the καρπωτός were uncritically associated with κάρπασ(ος)—instead of καρπός “wrist”—and, secondarily, κάρπασ(ος) was taken to be a variant of *karbu* (කର୍ବୁ) “variegated-color,” it would be easy to account for Joseph’s כְּתַנֵּת פְּסִים in Genesis 37:3 becoming in the Septuagint χιτώνα ποικίλον “tunic of variegated-color.”⁷

In an unidentified tradition καρπωτός—or just καρπωτ—was equated with the Persian, Sanskrit, and Indo-Aryan *karbiś* (as בַת מִצְוָה became *bas miṣvah*, with the ב becoming a sibilant). It could also account for how, in popular etymology and folk usage (in contrast to a historical etymology), כֶּרֶפֶס “celery, parsley” became symbolically associated with Joseph’s שְׂרֵגָת פְּסִים, since the tunic became ποικίλον “multi-color” in the Septuagint, with ποικίλον equaling *karbu* (කର୍ବୁ) which, with a case ending became *karbus* = καρβός = καρπός.

Rashi did not associate the פְּסִים in Gen 37:3 with *karpāsa* “cotton” or καρπός “fruit” or בָּרֶפֶס “celery, parsley.” He identified the פְּסִים as מְלִיה “fine wool” rather than, for example, with צַמָּר גֵּן “wool of the vine” (= “cotton,” similar to Greek καρπός εὐανθής μήλων “downy fruit of sheep” = “wool”). Rashi’s comparison with the פְּסִים in II Sam

13:18 and the כְּרָפֵס in Est 1:6 probably referred to the appearance (color or shape) of Joseph's tunic rather than the fabric of the tunic—be it wool, flax, or cotton.

CONCLUSION

The use of celery or parsley in the Seder as a symbolic reminder of Joseph's tunic would be a good example of the logic that things equal to the same thing are equal to each other. Since כְּרָפֵס—on the analogy of Est 1:6 and II Sam 13:18—equals כְּרָבֵס/κάρπας or כְּרָבֵס/κάρβας, and since כְּרָפֵס equals celery/parsley, then celery/parsley could have something to do with כְּרָפֵס, or vice versa. The analogy and equation provided an excellent base for didactic and haggadic expansion.

The various meanings of כְּרָפֵס in Semitic need not be limited to “cotton, flax, linen” or to “celery and parsley” or to “variegated color.” In Syriac, in addition to καρβασâ “cotton,” there is also Syriac κρεμâ “cotton” meaning *res qua ligatur* and *clavus* [“things which are joined together”⁸ and “nail”]⁹ and *proxeneta* [“broker, negotiator”], as well as Syriac καρπασâ “celery.” There is no basis for assuming that these varied meanings of כְּרָבֵס/כְּרָפֵס in Semitic come from a single Persian or Sanskrit loanword.

NOTES

1. This short study is an extended footnote to the article by G. J. Gevaryahu and M. L. Wise (1999) entitled, “Why Does the Seder Begin with Karpas,” in which it was stated that Hebrew *karpas* was borrowed from the Persian *kirpas* “linen” and *karafs* “parsley” and the Greek *karpos* “fruit.” It is intended to provide a more detailed etymological analysis in light of comparative lexicography than that which was given by the authors.

2. Steingass 1892: 1021–1023; Monier, Monier-Willaims 1899: 275–276; Macdonell 1924: 64; and Turner, 1971: 146, 156. Note also the **תְּפִזָּה** “topaz” in Exo 28:17, 39:10; Ezek 28:13, 17; and Job 28:19, which is the Sanskrit loanword **पीत** (*pīta*) “yellow” (Macdonnell 1924: 163).
3. Lane 1885: 2603c, 2607c; Hava 1915: 649, 651; and Wehr 1979: 959, 961.
4. Hatch and Redpath 1954: 723–724.
5. Liddell and Scott 1940: 879–880.
6. McCarter 1984: 325–326.
7. Note that Aquila rendered **פְּטִימָה** as στραγαλων “knotted, ornamented,” whereas Symmachus has χειριδον η καρπωτον “sleeved [to the] the wrist.” See Brooke and McLean 1906: 105. The Arabic **بنش** (*bannas*) “a cloth upper-garment with very full sleeves,” cited by Hava (1915: 47) as a Turkish loanword used in Syria is of interest, given the interchange of **ב/ב/פ/פ/ש/ש** and the frequent assimilation of the **נ** in Hebrew. A masculine plural **פְּשִׁים** > **בְּשִׁים** could easily become **פְּטִימָה** > **בְּשִׁים**. But the provenance of **بنش** (*bannas*) needs further study. Speiser (1964: 290) suggested that **פְּטִימָה** was an adaptation of Akkadian *pišannu* which “was a ceremonial robe which could be draped about statues of goddesses, and had various gold ornaments sewed onto it.”
8. Aquila’s στραγαλων appears as στραγγαλίδων “chains” in the Septuagint of Jud 8:26.
9. While *clavus* may mean “a purple stripe on the *tunica* worn by knights (narrow) or senators and their sons (broad) . . . as one of the insignia of senatorial rank,” which could support the translation of **כְּבָרֶס** as being “striped,” the context of the citation requires *clavus* to mean the nail or rivet which holds things together.

XIV

“ADORE WITHOUT RESTRAINT,

WORSHIP WITH FIDELITY”

PSALM 2:11–12a

INTRODUCTION

The MT נִשְׁקֹו־בָּר “kiss a son” has yet to receive a contextually satisfying explanation. Uncertainties about the phrase—which contains the Aramaic בָּר “son” rather than the Hebrew בֵּן—are apparent in the early translations.¹ Although Aquila translated נִשְׁקֹו־בָּר as καταφιλήσατε ἐκλεκτῶς “kiss the chosen,”² the Septuagint rendered it as δράχασθε παιδείας³ “grasp instruction,” which is reflected in the Vulgate’s *apprehendite disciplinam* and in the Targum’s קַבְיָלוּ אֹולֶפְנָא “receive instruction.”⁴ But Jerome translated it *adorate pure* “worship in purity,” which may correspond to Symmachus’ προσκυνήσατε καθαρῶς.⁵ The Syriac נִשְׁקֹו בָּר (našqû bera) “kiss the son” matches the MT, but makes בָּר definite.

When it comes to the English translations, KJV, NKJ, NIV and NIB (“kiss the Son”) followed the MT and Syriac—but with a Christological twist having “the Son” for “a son.” The NAS (“do homage to the Son”) followed Symmachus and Jerome, as did the NLT paraphrase (“submit to God’s royal son”). But the YLT followed Aquila (“kiss the Chosen One”). The RSV, NRSV, and NJB have “kiss his feet,” adopting the emendation of Bertholet (1908: 59) who combined בָּר “son” and וְגַלְלֵי “and rejoice” to create בְּרַגְלֵי “on his feet” in order to create a motif of homage: “kiss on his [God’s] feet.”⁶

More recent scholars have suggested other changes. Dahood (1966: 13), revocalized the MT to נְשִׁי קָבָר “men of the

grave” and translated “O mortal men!” Mackintosh (1976: 14) proposed deleting בָּרְךִּי and translated נַשְׁקֵנִי as “order yourselves (properly)/be (properly) governed.” Oloffson (1995: 199) opted for בָּרְךִּ “field” instead of בָּרְךִּ “son,” since “kissing a field” was yet another way to pay homage.

ASSISTANCE FROM ARABIC

Oloffson (1976: 5) summarized the theories how Arabic جُول (jûl) “to circulate, to roam” and وَجْل (wajila) “to fear” were related to يَلِل (yâll) “to rejoice.” He argued unconvincingly that following the *Aḍdād* phenomena in Arabic, where a word may have opposite meanings, يَلِل “to rejoice” could also mean “to fear,” thus harmonizing the verb and adverb in order to translate the בָּרְעָדָה of 2:11 as “and shew fear with trembling.” But missing from his discussion was any reference to the Arabic جَلَل (jalla) “to honor, to dignify, and to exalt the majesty of God,” with جَلَال (jalâl) “extreme greatness” being an attribute of God (Lane 1865: 436; Wehr 1979: 152). By simply removing the vowel letter, MT בָּגְלִיל can be read as the imperative وَمَلِلْ (wâmlîl) “and magnify [Him],” which logically follows the עֲבֹדוּ אֶת־יְהוָה בִּירָאָה “serve/worship Yahweh with reverence” in 2:11a (BDB 432, *sub voce* 3).

The MT בָּרְעָדָה has usually been translated as “trembling” (= τρόμῳ in the Septuagint and *tremore* in the Vulgate), with רָעָד being the cognate of Arabic رَعْد (ra‘ada) “to thunder, to terrify” (BDB 944). But in this context רָעָד is probably the cognate of رَغْد (raḡada) “it became ample and unrestrained” and رَغْد (raḡd) “plentiful, pleasant, easy” (Lane 1867: 1105; 1112). With these cognates in focus, 2:11a can be translated “worship Yahweh in reverence, adore with unrestraint!”

The Septuagint's δράχασθε “seize” comes from a *Vorlage* having נִקְשׁוּ or נִכְשׁוּ “seize!” for the Masoretic קָשַׁשׁ / קָשַׁׁׁ “kiss!” (Jastrow 1903: 912, 935). The interchange of פּ and כּ is attested not only with נִכְשׁוּ and נִקְשׁוּ, but in a number of other words like בְּשִׁבְשׁ “to knock, to shake” and בְּקָרְבָּנָה “to crush.” In light of this well attested interchange, it is reasonable to assume that נִשְׁקֹן could be a variant for נִשְׁבֹּן; and if so, נִשְׁקָדֵן / נִשְׁקָדָן would be the cognate of نَسَكَ (nasa-ka) “he worshiped” (Lane 1893: 3032; Wehr 1979: 1129).⁷

Were בָּר the direct object of נְשָׁק / נְשָׁק, one would expect it to have the הָאַת particle, as in the preceding עֲבֹדוּ אֶת־יְהוָה הָאַת “worship Yahweh.⁸ Without the הָאַת, the בָּר can function as an adverbial accusative, which precludes reading it as “son” or “field.” But other possibilities for בָּר include “pure, pious, honest” which is a cognate of (1) בִּיר (*birr/barr*) “fidelity, piety towards God or parents, obedience” or (2) בָּרִי (*bariy*) “free, clear, . . . pure in heart from associating any [other] with God” (Lane 1863: 179). Were בָּר the cognate, however, should be נְגִילוֹ (> נְגִילוֹ), which suggests that the הָאַת deleted from בָּרִי could be added to בָּר to restore an original בָּרִי.

CONCLUSION

Simply by reading וְגַלְיוֹן as וְגִילֵי, the MT of Psa 2:10–12a can be translated

Now therefore, O kings, be wise,
be warned, O rulers of the earth;
worship Yahweh in awe,
and *adore without restraint,*
worship with fidelity.

This understanding of the Hebrew supports Jerome's *adore pure* and Symmachus' προσκυνήσατε καθαρῶς “worship in purity.”

Cloaked in a psalm speaking of Israel's imperial aspirations is an invitation to the earthly kings to share in Israel's faith—though not necessarily in Israel's religion and cultus. Even though the invitation was extended in the shadow of derision and threats, it was an invitation, nonetheless, for all kings (and presumably their kingdoms) to find refuge in Yahweh. As much as there are hints of “forced conversions,” like “lest they perish” (in 2:11b), there is a vision of earthly peace made possible by having a shared faith. Unfortunately, the invitation to share a faith was commingled with an ultimatum to submit to Israelite hegemony.

NOTES

1. In 2:7b בְּנִי אָתָּה אָנָּי הַיּוֹם יָלֶד תִּיקְרֵב, not בָּרְךָ, was used: “you are my son, this day I have begotten you.”
2. Note Ezek 21:19 (MT 21:24) where בְּרָא “choose” appears twice in the KJV and I Sam 17:8 where בְּרוּלְבָמָן אִישׁ was rendered ἐκλέξασθε ἑαυτοῖς ἄνδρα “choose for yourselves a man” in the Septuagint.
3. The Septuagint παίδειας “instruction” may reflect an internal Greek corruption of παίδιον, which ordinarily translated בְּנָה or בְּנָת, all words for young children, and it would be the most likely word to translate בָּר “son.” If not an internal corruption, παίδειας may be the fruit of a syllogism: בָּר = בְּנָה and בְּנָה = בְּנָי = בָּר “instruction.” It is, therefore, unnecessary to posit a different *Vorlage* for the Septuagint.

4. The Vulgate, following the Septuagint, did not give **רְבָבָה** any Christological significance. The Targumist may have associated the **רְבָבָה** with the **אֲנָשִׁים**, the term for those traditions and opinions not embodied in the Mishnah. (See Jastrow 189.)
5. Although προσκυνέω means “to make obeisance to the gods or their images” or “prostrating oneself before kings and superiors” κυνέω means “to kiss,” leading Liddell and Scott (1966: 1518) to comment that perhaps originally προσκυνέω meant “*throw a kiss to the god . . . (and) the gesture is probably represented in Sumerian and Babylonian art monuments.*”
6. Mackintosh (1976: 13) convincingly noted
 . . . considerable difficulty attaches to the view that the dissident rulers are exhorted to kiss the feet of Yahweh; to introduce so gross an anthropomorphism is implausible and the attempt to interpret the words metaphorically is unlikely.
7. Mackintosh (1976: 11, 14) interpreted **רְשֵׁם** in light of Arabic **نَسَقَ** (*nasaqa*) “to arrange, to set (pearls) in order” (Wehr 1979: 1129).
8. The absence of the emphatic **וְ** suffix (= **אֲנָשִׁים**) on this Aramaic loanword or the Hebrew definite article (= **הַבָּן**), like the **הַיּוֹם** in 2:7b, as well as the absence of the **וְ** prefix to a definite noun, indicate that the translation of **רְבָבָה** as the definite “the Son” is a purely subjective rendering.

XV

“SURELY THERE IS A GOD!” PROVERBS 30:1–5

INTRODUCTION

The difficulties encountered in the interpretation of Prov 30:1 can readily be illustrated by the presence or absence of proper names in the varied translations of the verse. The RSV and the NIV have five different names; the KJV, NKJV, and NAS have four distinct names; the Syriac text has three; but the Vulgate, NRSV, and the NLT have only two, whereas the Septuagint has none (although the Codex Venetus, like the Targum, takes Agur and Yakeh as names). The difficulties encountered here led McKane (1970:644) to say despairingly, “In such a verse, where there is hardly a glimmer of light, one feels powerless to make even the first move towards its elucidation.”

But illumination of the verse comes once it is recognized that 30:1–5 preserves a dialectal fragment for which the traditional lexicons of Jerusalem Hebrew will be inadequate, necessitating a greater use of Arabic lexicography to reconstruct the meaning. The poetic lines to be reviewed include:

דְּבָרִי אֲגֹור בֶּן־יָקֵה הַמִּשְׁאָל
נִאֵם חָנֵבֶר לְאִיתִיאֵל לְאִיתִיאֵל וְאַכְלָל

The words of Agur the son of Jakeh, *even* the prophecy the man spake unto Ithiel, even unto Ithiel and Ucal

(KJV)

The words of Agur son of Jakeh¹ of Massa.
The man says to Ithiel, to Ithiel and Ucal.
(RSV)

τοὺς ἐμοὺς λόγους νίέ φοβήθητι
 καὶ δεχάμενος αὐτοὺς μετανόει τάδε²
 λέγει ὁ ἀνὴρ τοῖς πιστεύουσιν θεῶ καὶ παύομαι
 “reverence my words, Son, and receiving them, repent,”
 says the man to them that trust in God; and I cease.
 (Septuagint)

If the names are original, one must concur with Whybray (1994: 407) that the names here are not Hebrew names, at least not widely attested names. Each alleged name in the MT warrants some explanation, as well as a reason for the absence of any name in the Septuagint of Prov 30:1.

AGUR

Franklyn (1983: 239) suggested, following the Vulgate and Midrash, that Agur is the participle of **גָּנָא** “to gather,” disregarding Sauer’s criticism (which he cited) that the passive **גָּנָא** cannot have an active sense. Franklyn, moreover, disregarded the derivation of **גָּנָא** given in BDB (8) which cited Arabic, Assyrian, and Syriac cognates (like أجر [‘ajara] “to pay, to hire”) of which **גָּנָא** would be a passive participle meaning “a hireling.” The imperative φοβήθητι “fear” of the Septuagint obviously derived **גָּנָא** from **גַּנְעַת** “to be afraid, to fear” or **גַּנְעָה**, stem III, “to dread” (BDB 388, 158).³

But none of these derivations are correct, though BDB was on target since it noted the Arabic cognate أجر (‘ajara). But أجر (‘ajara) has other meanings than “to be a hireling.” It also means “a recompense, compensation, or reward for what has been done”; and, as Lane (1863: 24) noted, “it is well known that أجر (‘ajara) signifies a recompense, or reward from God

to a man for righteous conduct.”⁴ With this definition in mind, the passive participle נָגֵן, “one rewarded for righteousness,” is an appropriate name for a person of piety. Seemingly, then, Prov 30:1 opens with the phrase “the words of Agur” or “the words of one-rewarded-for-righteousness.”

YAKEH

Toy (1916: 518), Franklyn (1983: 239), and others have recognized that the Arabic cognate of תַּקְמִין is وَقِيٰ (*waqī*) “to be cautious, guarding oneself from sin,” which is the equivalent of تَقِيٰ (*taqī*) “godly, devout, pious” (Lane 1863: 310; 1893: 3059; Wehr 1979: 115, 1282).⁵ Were the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint ΤΑΚΙΝΟΣ (as in the forty-two manuscripts cited by Kennicott, mentioned in note 1), the ΤΑΚΙΝΟΣ may have been misread as ΤΑΓΙΝΟΣ “to fear”⁶ and have been dismissed by the Greek translators as a gloss on the ambiguous תַּקְמִין, which has four different meanings: (1) “to be afraid, to dread,” (2) “to sojourn,” (3) “to stir up strife,” and (4) “to be rewarded for righteousness,” discussed above.

As Franklyn (1983: 239) noted, בָּנְיָקֵה may not be a patronym but a designation of quality, meaning “an obedient man,” or as I would prefer, “a pious person.” As a result, the first four words of Prov 30:1 can be rendered, “The words of a pious person rewarded for righteousness.” If נָגֵן and תַּקְמִין were names, the meaning of the names would have been transparent to the initial audience, even though their meanings subsequently became lost to tradition.

THE MASSAITE

Many commentators, like Scott (1965: 175) and McKane (1970: 644) added to the MT נִשְׁמָתָה “the oracle” a gentilic ‘ and treat נִשְׁמָתָה as a place name for an Ishmaelite group in North Arabia, producing אָגָר נִשְׁמָתָה . . . נִבְרֵא, “Agur . . . the Massaite.” The argument is that the original נִשְׁמָתָה lost the gentilic ‘ suffix because the next word was מֹעֲדָה “utterance,” and נִשְׁמָתָה “the oracle” was taken to be its synonym, resulting in a pseudo-correction changing the original ethnicon נִשְׁמָתָה “the Massaite” into נִשְׁמָתָה “the utterance.”⁷

Probably, however, נִשְׁמָתָה originally was not a place name nor a word for “utterance.” The desiderated meaning can be found in the Arabic cognates (1) نَسَّأ (naša'a, form 4) “he created, produced, originated; he framed or constructed a proverb or phrase; he composed or recited well an ode or the like,” and (2) منشى (munši) “author, originator” (Lane 1893: 2791; Wehr 1979: 1131).⁸ Here נִשְׁמָתָה (*scriptio defectiva* for נִשְׁמָתָה) would be a *Hiph'il* participle, corresponding to the parallel Arabic causative, and מֹעֲדָה נִשְׁמָתָה would mean “the one authoring the saying.” The מֹעֲדָה would be a double-duty noun, doubling as a construct noun with the following נִבְרֵא.

NO LONGER “THE MAN”

McKane (1970:644) rightly noted that “the phrase *n^e'ū m haggeber* [‘the utterance of the man’] is very odd, if *haggeber* is Agur.” But the oddity disappears if נִבְרֵא is interpreted as meaning something other than “man.” BDB (149) cited Akkadian, Arabic, Aramaic, Syriac, and Ethiopic cognates for

נָבֵר meaning, among other things, “to compel, to force, to be overbearing, to be strong, to prevail.” But contextually important definitions found in Lane (1865: 373) were not cited in BDB (149) or KBS (175), namely, جَسَرْ (*jabara*): “he restored to a sound, right, or good estate; to bring back to normal; and to treat anyone in a kind and conciliatory manner.”⁹ Adding this piece to the puzzle of 30:1 permits this translation: “the words of Agur [= the one-rewarded-for-righteousness], the son of Jakeh [= the pious one], the one authoring the declaration [מִשְׁנֶה], the declaration of the one-restored-to-sound-estate” (reading the נָבֵר of נָבֵר as a *Qal* passive participle).

Since three nouns/names of the seven words preceding the declaration in 30:1b deal with (1) [God’s] rewarding righteousness, (2) a God-fearing person, and (3) restoration to wholeness, the writer sets the stage for a theologically significant declaration in 30:1b, one which will match the affirmation in 30:5, “every word of God proves true” (RSV). Such an affirmation appears once the MT preposition ל “to” in 30:1b is read as the emphatic particle ל “surely”,¹⁰ rather than being read as the negative ל (= נֹא).

ITHIEL AND UCAL

The MT לְאַיִתִיאֵל has produced a wide variety of interpretations which are summarized by McKane (1970: 644–645) and Franklyn (1983: 241–243). The most interesting interpretations of לְאַיִתִיאֵל are (1) “I am weary, O God,” based upon the root לְאַהֲהָה; (2) “O that God were with me,”

based upon the preposition **בְּ** and the vocative **לְ**; (3) “there is no God,” based upon the Aramaic **אֵיתִ** (the particle of existence) and the negative **לֹא** (= **לֹא**), as in Dan 3:29; and (4) “I am not God,” based upon the emendation **לֹא אֲנָכִי אֱלֹהִים**. A fifth reading begs for recognition, namely, “Surely God exists!”—based upon the Aramaic **אֵיתִ**, “exists” and the emphatic **לְ** “surely, verily.”

Support for this fifth interpretation comes from the confidence of the speaker hidden in the last word of this verse, **וְאַכְלָה**. This word has also been variously interpreted. The Septuagint’s **καὶ παύομαι** “and I cease,” derived it from **בְּלַה** “to be complete, to end,” whereas the Vulgate’s *confortatus* read **אַכְלָה** “to contain, to sustain.” Scott (1965: 175) took **אַכְלָה** to be from **יָכַל** “to be able, to have power,” and provided the expansive translation “and I can [not know anything].” Franklin (1983: 243) related **אַכְלָה** to **אַכְלָה** “to eat” and translated “I am consumed.”

But there is a better option than the above four which are derived from standard lexicons with their incomplete listings of cognates. The Arabic **كَلَّا** (*kala'a*) (Lane 1885: 2623; Wehr 1979: 978) “to guard, to keep safe, to protect” (including the expression, **كَلَّا إِلَهًا** [*kilâ'at 'allahi*] “the safe keeping of God”) is the most likely cognate of the MT **בְּלֹא אַכְלָה**, a *Hoph'al* imperfect of **בְּלֹא** meaning “I will be kept safe.”¹¹ The affirmation, “Surely there is a God! Surely there is a God!” led logically to the conclusion, “I will be safeguarded!”

Consequently, the first ten words of 30:1 can be *translated* “the words of a pious person rewarded for righteousness, the declaration of one restored to wholeness: ‘Surely God exists!

Surely God exists! I will be kept healthy!””—rather than being *transliterated* as a series of names or unknown words.

NO LONGER “THE BRUTE”

The MT of 30:2 has generally been understood as “for I am more a beast/brute than a man.” But בָּעֵר and מְאִישׁ may have other meanings than “beast/brute” and “man,” respectively. MT בָּעֵר can be the *Qal* passive participle of stem II, “to burn, to consume, to be consumed (with anger or emotion).” Likewise, the MT מְאִישׁ can be repointed to מְאַיִשׁ “from despair.” In this case, אַיִשׁ would be the cognate of Arabic لَيْس (ayisa) “he despaired” and لِيَاس (iyās) “desparation” (Lane, 1863: 137; Wehr, 1979: 47). The by-form of لَيْس (ayisa) is يَعْس (ya'isa) “to give up all hope,” which in form (4) means “to deprive someone of hope” (Lane, 1893: 2973–2974; Wehr, 1979: 1294). Arabic لَيْس (ayisa) would be the cognate of شَيْس “to despair, to give up hope” (BDB: 384; Jastrow, 1903: 560).¹²

Agur’s despair brought him to the point where he could not think straight, as he confessed, “**וְלֹא־בִּינָתָּה אָדָם לִי**” “I did not have (normal) human discernment.” The past tense used in translating this verbless clause reflects the tense of the verbal clause which follows: “**וְלֹא־לִמְדָה חִכְתָּה**” “I had not learned wisdom.” The shift to the imperfect in 30:3b marks the transition from depression to elation—Agur had become **הַנְּבָרֶךָ**, “the one restored to normalcy.” With renewed piety the affirmation was made: “**וְנָתַת קָדְשִׁים אֲדֹעַ**” “and (now) I make known the knowledge of the Holy One.”¹³

NO INTERROGATIVES

The פָּנִים opening 30:4b functions as a relative pronoun like the Arabic personal/relative pronoun *(man)* (Wehr 1979: 1084), not as an interrogative pronoun. The pronoun refers to קָדוֹשׁ־ם, the “Holy One” *who* performed all the acts spelled out in 30:4. Although עַלְהַ שְׁמִים can mean “he *ascended* (into) heaven,” it can just as well mean “he was *exalted* (in) heaven” or “he had *ascendancy* (in) heaven.” This interpretation draws support from עֶלְיוֹן, the name of God which speaks of his *ascendancy in* heaven, not an *ascent into* heaven.¹⁴ Similarly, although the MT עַלְהַ שְׁמִים וַיֵּרֶד can mean “he ascended (to) heaven and came down,” Scott (1965: 175), who followed tradition in making this verse speak rhetorically about a person ascending into heaven, correctly noted that וַיֵּרֶד (= וַיַּרְא) was from רְדָה “to have dominion,” not יָרָד “to descend.” The point being made in 3:4a is that the Holy One (קָדוֹשׁ־ם) reigns (עַלְהַ) ascendent (עַלְהַ) in heaven.

Similarly, the מָה which opens the poetic line 30:5c is not the interrogative “what”, nor even the relative “which,” but the exclamatory “how!” (BDB 553b; Wehr 1979: 1042, ל). The exclamation parallels Psa 8:2, מָה־אֲדִיר שְׁמָך “how majestic is thy name.” The שְׁמָך could be cognate with Arabic سَمْو (*sumū*) “exaltedness, eminence, highness” (Lane 1872: 1435; Wehr 1979: 504). If so, the מָה־שְׁמָנוּ would have the same meaning as מָה־אֲדִיר. The *Vorlage* could have been מָה־שְׁמָנוּ “How exalted his name!” which, in an unpointed text, appeared to be a dittography and was mistakenly changed into the simple interrogative, “what is his name?”

On the analogy of the עַלְם stem רְוִים “to be high” having the derivative noun רְמָם/רְוִים “height,” the עַלְם stem בְּרִין “to

discern” could have had the derivative noun בֵּן / בֵּין “discernment.” In this case, MT וְמִתְּהִשְׁבָּבָנוּ could simply be re-vocalized as מִתְּהִשְׁבָּב בֵּינוֹ (scriptio plene) “how sublime his intelligence!”

Contrary to the suggestion in BHS, the בְּ in 30:4, which is not reflected in the Codex Vaticanus or Sinaiticus, should not be deleted, but read as the initial words of 30:5, “*Certainly you know every saying of God has stood the test!*”

SUMMARY

The uncertainty surrounding Prov 30:1–5 has been minimized in this study by appealing to Arabic cognates for meanings lost in the Judean dialect of Hebrew. Many scholars who were quite confident that Agur ben Yakeh was from the Arabian tribe of Massa made but limited use of Arabic cognates to clarify problematic words. While some scholars have recognized that קַרְבָּן was a cognate of وَقِي (*waqī*) “to be pious, to be obedient,” the case has been made for relating (1) גְּרוּר [’ajara] “a reward from God to a man for righteous conduct”; (2) מְנֻשֵּׁי to حَفَّاظ (munši) “author, originator”; (3) גְּבָר (jabara) “to restore to a sound or good estate”; (4) קְלָא to كَلَّا (kala’ā) “to keep safe”; (5) אִישׁ to أَيْش (’ayisa) “to despair”; (6) מִן to مَن (man) “who” [as a relative pronoun]; (7) سְמוּ to شَمُّو (sumū) “exaltedness”; and (8) the initial לְ of لִאִיזְיָאֵל (la) “surely.”

There are sixteen other words in Prov 30:1–5 which have Arabic cognates, but these are already listed in BDB and KBS and need no additional elucidation. Adding the definitions

proposed above to the lexicons of Biblical Hebrew should not be problematic, especially since Agur’s poetry is in dialect or an idiolect.

If it is unfortunate that Agur (meaning “honored for righteousness”) is viewed by some as a skeptic because of the skepticism of some scholars about an emphatic ל in Hebrew. Failure to recognize the emphatic ל in the MT לְאִתָּה יְאָל (“Surely there is a God!”) has produced a great deal of erudite exegetical gymnastics about a God-fearing, but stupid, Ishmaelite whose doubts made it into the canonical wisdom of Israel in a brief obtuse debate where he was a named foil for an unnamed and unidentified Judean apologist.

Applying the benefits of the word studies above, an entirely different scenario emerges. A pious person honored for righteousness authors a short poem in which he affirms “Surely there is a God!” He confesses to having had a bout of depression which affected his reason. But when reason failed, faith prevailed. As good as his name, this pious person was restored to mental health. As a consequence, he tells of his intention to declare his knowledge of the “Holy One” who reigns supreme in heaven and over creation. Piety spoke again in his affirmation: “Certainly you know every saying of God has stood the test!” Having asserted initially in the poem “I will be safeguarded,” this pious soul concluded his five verses with a third affirmation, “the Holy One is a shield to those who take refuge in him!” Far from being a skeptic or an agnostic, Agur lived up to his name and has been well rewarded for his righteousness—his poem became a part of the canon even though written in a non-Judean dialect.

NOTES

1. In forty-two manuscripts cited by Kennicott (1780 II: 475) יָקַר appears as נְקַר, as though the root were נִקֵּה/נִקֵּה “to vomit, to disgorge” (BDB 883). This accounts, in part, for the Vulgate’s reading, *verba Congregantis filii Vomentis visio quam locutus est vir cum quo est Deus et qui Deo secum morante confortatus ait*, and the Douay, “The words of Gatherer the son of Vomiter. The vision which the man spoke, with whom God is, and who being strengthened by God, abiding with him, said.” Traditional interpretation explained that the “Gatherer” was the one who assembled people for instruction and the “Vomiter” was the one who pours out words of instruction (see Toy 1916: 518).
2. The Septuagint μετανόει “repent” indicates the Hebrew מְנֻזָּה was read as מְנֻזָּה in the Greek *Vorlage*. Hebrew מְנֻזָּה is translated in thirteen other places in the Septuagint by μετανοεῖν.
3. Note Num 22:3, בְּנֵי יִגְרֵר מוֹאָב (= καὶ ἐφοβήθη Μωαβ) and Jer 46: 17, יְגִרְרָה (= σὺ φοβή). A typographical error flawed Franklyn’s comment, “φοβήθητι is derived from the jussive רָאַנְהָ [sic] (dread, fear)” (1983: 239).
4. In the *Qur'an* (*Sura* 29:26) أَجْر (‘ajara) has the meaning of “praise” or “fame.”
5. KBS II: 430 cites Arabic *waqiha* [sic] “to be obedient,” with the name נָקַר given the meaning “careful.”
6. See Delitzsch (1920: 119 §131) for a list of texts having a confusion of נָקַר and נָקָר.
7. The Septuagint καὶ δεχάμενος αὐτοὺς reflects a reading of נָשָׁן, as in Deu 33:3, מִדְבָּרֶת יְקַרְתָּא יְשָׁעָה (= καὶ ἐδέχατο ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ “and he received from his words”) and Gen 50:17, עַפְּלָה לְנָא שְׁחַתָּה וְעַנְהָה (= καὶ νῦν δέχαι τὴν ὀδικίαν, “now please pardon the transgression”).

8. In Arabic the ن remains unassimilated.

9. See also Wehr 1979: 132.

10. The literature on the emphatic ל and נ continues to grow. In addition to references cited by Richardson (1966: 89), note Mc Daniel (1968) 206–208; Bloomerde (1969) 31; Dahood (1975) 341–342); Whitley (1975) 202–204; and Huehnergard (1983) 569–593, especially 591.

11. One would expect a final נ on בְּלֹא along with the initial נ for the 1cs imperfect. But as discussed in note 1, the interchange of נ and ה (like יִקְהָאֵת and נִקְרָאֵת) is well attested. On the elision of the נ, note Delitzsch (1920: 21–22, §14^{a–c}) and GKC 68^{h,k}. The following elisions are noteworthy: וְתַזְרָנִי and וְתַזְרָנִי in the parallel texts of Ps 18:40 and 2 Sam 22:40; וְיִסְרָאֵר and וְיִסְרָאֵר in Ex 14:25 חֲטֹאתֵיכֶם and חֲטֹאתֵיכֶם in Ecc 4:14; יְהַלֵּל for יְהַלֵּל in Isa 13:20; וְתַאֲהֵל for וְתַאֲהֵל in Lev 25:36; וְיִרְאָת for וְיִרְאָת in Lev 26:18 and 26:21 in 11QpaleoLev.

12. See the study on Numbers 12:3 above in Chapter VII.

13. Reading קָדְשִׁים as an honorific plural (see GKC 124^e). The MT נ can be repointed (*scriptio plene*) as the *Hiph’il* imperfect נָזַע. The addition of “now” is suggested by the וְעַת “and now” in Psa 74:6 (rather than the usual וְעַת). The *Vorlage* could have been עַת דָּעַת קָדְשִׁים נָזַע, with a loss of the first עַת.

14. Note Deut 28:43, where يَعْلَمُ اللَّهُ عَلَيْكُم مَّا عَلِمْتُم “he shall excel above you higher and higher” speaks of *status* not of *motion*. Note also Arabic (العلى) “the Most High,” used as a name of God (Lane 1874: 2147).

XVI

RECOVERY OF RARE WORDS IN ECCLESIASTES 7:26–28

QOHELETH'S CHAUVINISM

The significant difference between the KJV translation of Ecclesiastes 7:26 and more recent translations is the use of a comma. The MT reads וּמָוֹצָא אֲנִי מֵרַמְּפֹת אֶחָד אָשָׁה אַשְׁר־, which became in the KJV “and I find more bitter than death the woman, whose heart *is* snares and nets.” This translation has the speaker, Qoheleth, making the blanket statement that any woman is worse than death. If the comma after the word “woman” is removed, Qoheleth’s statement becomes a qualified statement that *only* the woman whose heart is a snare and net is more bitter than death. This is the interpretation of the RSV, “And I found more bitter than death the woman whose heart is snares and nets,” and the NIV, “I find more bitter than death the woman who is a snare, whose heart is a trap.”

Scott (1965: 238) maintained the traditional interpretation, translating “More bitter to me than death was my experience with woman, whose thoughts are traps and snares.”¹ This interpretation, reading נִנְנָא as the preposition “with” rather than the sign of the direct object, restricts the bitterness to the experience of the Qoheleth, but women in general are berated as those whose thoughts are traps and snares. However, the crux of the verse is not the נִנְנָא, be it a preposition or a particle, but with the ambiguity of the relative pronoun אַשְׁר־, which can be read as a restrictive modifier meaning “only those who (are snares),” or it has a causal force, “forasmuch as, in that (she is a woman)” (BDB 83b).

CLARIFICATION FROM COGNATES

The seemingly elementary phrase, אֲתָה־הַנְּאֹשֶׁר־הִיא אֲשֶׁר־הִיא, “the woman who she,” may be a bit more complex than appears at first glance. The relative pronoun may be nothing other than the misvocalization of the נְשָׁאָן which is cognate to Arabic أَشْرِ (°ašir) “exulting, or exulting greatly, or excessively; or exulting by reason of wealth, and behaving with pride, and self-conceitedness, and boastfulness, and want of thankfulness, or . . . rejoicing, and resting the mind upon things agreeable with natural desires” (Lane 1863: 62).

If this is the correct derivation of נְשָׁאָן, the text behind the MT was probably אֲשֶׁר־הִיא אֲשֶׁר־הִיא, with the definite article הַ of נְשָׁאָן having been originally the feminine ending of נְשָׁאָן “self-conceited.” Once the meaning of this rare word was lost, a pseudo-correction transferred the הַ of נְשָׁאָן to נְשָׁאָן since it was preceded by the particle הַ, which is normally followed by a definite noun.² With the recognition of נְשָׁאָן as a rare word and with the reversal a pseudo-correction, Eccl. 7:26 can now be translated as “more bitter than death is a self-conceited/thankless woman; she is *snares* and her heart is *nets*.” The plural predicates *snares* and *nets*, following the singular subjects אֲשֶׁר “she” and הַלְּבָדָה “her heart,” are plurals of intensity (GKC124^c), which can be paraphrased in English with a corresponding emphatic singular such as “a sure snare” and “a really tight net.”

The appeal to the Arabic cognate أَشْرِ (°ašir) “exulting” to explain the נְשָׁאָן in this verse gains support from Qoheleth’s use of נְשָׁאָן in 7:29, “Behold, this alone I found, that God made man upright, but they have sought out many devices.” Scott (1965: 239) questioned the integrity of the MT and commented: “Heb. *yāšār*, a unique and curious word to be

used of man’s creation. The context suggests that it is a corruption of *w^{eo}iššāh*, ‘and woman,’ but there is no support for this in the ancient versions.” However, Scott overlooked the fact that the word for “the man” in Ecc 7:29 is מְדֹנֶה, which is as gender inclusive there as it is in Gen 1: 27, where הָאָדָם “the human being” is equal to זְכַר וּנְקָبָה “male *and* female,” and as in Gen 5:2b, which states אָדָם אֲתִֽי קָרָא וַיֹּאמֶר “and he named *them* Adam.”

The semantic range of يُسْر (*yusr*), the cognate of יְשָׁרֵךְ, explains why يְשָׁרֵךְ is so appropriate for this context. The Arabic يُسْر (*yusr*) means “ease, easiness [of circumstance], and what is made easy” (Lane 1893: 2977).³ With this definition in mind, يְשָׁרֵךְ—used in reference to God’s “making of man”—is a clear allusion to Eden where מְדֹנֶה (Adam *and* Eve) surely had “easiness [of circumstance].” But the ease of Eden ended when מְדֹנֶה (Adam and Eve) “willfully turned to many reckonings of their own” (7:29b).

As with يְשָׁרֵךְ, so also with שָׁרָא, the clue to the curious is in the cognates. Qoheleth certainly had a disliking of excessively boastful or self-conceited women, but there is no basis to pin on him the label of misogynist for allegedly having said that “women were more bitter than death.”

The ambiguity of the comparison in 7:28 (“one man in a thousand I found, but not one woman in all these did I find”) has also been problematic. Barton (1908: 147) concluded:

This [7:28c] implies that Qoheleth was something of a misogynist. He apparently had some bitter experience with a member of the opposite sex. He is more than reflecting the Oriental view that women are more prone to sin than men.... Qoheleth is saying “perfect men are rare, perfect women are non-existent.”

Scott (1965: 238) added some bracketed words: “but not one woman in all these did I find [to be wise]”; and the NIV added italicized words: “I found one *upright* man among a thousand, but not one *upright* woman among them all.”

A better option is to restore a word which may have dropped out due to haplography. A *Vorlage* with a cognate of either (1) Arabic مالوف (*mâ'luf*) “familiar,” (2) مالف (*mâ'laf*) “object of familiarity” or (2) أَلْف (*ilf*) “close friend, intimate, confidant, lover” (Lane 80–81; Wehr 1979: 29)⁴ would have read:

אֶלְמָאֵלָה מִצְאָתִי

“one familiar/friendly man out of a thousand I found

וְאֶשְׁתָּה בְּכָל־אָלָה לֹא מִצְאָתִי

but a (friendly) woman
among all these (= the thousand) I did not find.

The phrase אֶלְמָאֵלָה or מִצְאָתִי in an unpointed *Vorlage* appeared to be a dittography; and, as a result, a scribal decision to “correct” the dittography became the prelude for traditions alleging that Qoheleth berated women—even though he allegedly confessed, “I got singers, both men and women, and many concubines, man’s delight (חַנְנוּגָתָה)” (RSV 2:8).⁵ The enigmatic שְׂדָה וְשְׂדֹות (rendered οἰνοχόον καὶ οἰνοχόας “a butler and female cupbearers” in the Septuagint) is actually the cognate of شَدَّا / شَدُو (*šadw* / *šadā*) “he sang, chanted, recited poetry” (Lane 1872: 1521; Wehr 1979: 538). The phrase should be repointed as participles שְׂדָה וְשְׂדֹות “a chanter and chantresses,” like the preceding שְׂרִים וְשְׂרֹות. There is no apparent reason to translate שְׂדָה וְשְׂדֹות as “concubines”

(RSV, NRS) or “harem” (NIB, NIV) or “wife and wives” (YLT), as though Qohelet had been a playboy.

CONCLUSIONS

By inserting a comma in a translation it is possible to make Qoheleth say, “I find more bitter than death the woman, whose heart *is* snares and nets.” But the insertion of a comma is a translator’s choice, not a necessity. Qoheleth may have said only that some women are worse than death, and in so saying demonstrated a personality bias, not a gender bias. He disliked those women who were snares or nets. As reconstructed by this writer, he found women who were נָשָׁהָן “exulting by reason of wealth, and behaving with pride, and self-conceitedness,” to be more bitter than death.

The addition of words which make Qoheleth say “not one woman is *upright*” or “not one woman *wise*,” is purely subjective. Some objectivity has been introduced to make clear the comparison between the man and the woman in 7:28 by limiting the options to what may have been due to a haplography in the *Vorlage*. Reconstructing the dittography מְאַלְיָה מְאַלְיָה and interpreting it in the light of Arabic cognates for a “familiar person” and “intimate friend” suggest that Qoheleth had a hard time with close relationships. For all of his reckoning he could find only one male friend out of a thousand people, but not a single female friend. Qoheleth suggested (7:29) that Edenic relationships between male and female were lost by (mis)calculations. Some of the miscalculations perpetuate themselves in mistranslations and traditions which have denigrated all women, not just the self-conceited and thankless ones.

NOTES

1. Scott commented (1965: 239), “[bitter] agrees with the subject of the sentence rather than with woman (or, “*a woman*”); hence, *my experience with* instead of the usual translation, ‘I found more bitter than death is the woman’”
2. As noted in BDB (86a) and GKC (§117^d) the direct object sign נָנָ is well attested with undefined nouns. Especially noteworthy is Lev 20:14, וַיִּקְחֶה אֲתָאֵשׁ “he took a woman,” like the אֲתָאֵשׁ proposed here.
3. Note also the Arabic cognate مِيَشَرِّيمْ أَحَبَّوكْ in Song of Solomon 1:4 which means, in light of this Arabic cognate, “they loved you more than great luxuries” (the *great* added to indicate the plural of intensity). In light of this cognate, MT רַשָּׁׁי can be revocalized as a *qutl* sego-late noun, i.e., as רַשָּׁׁי.
4. Note the wordplay in Arabic, like the one suggested for Ecc 7:28, الْفَمُؤْلَفَةُ (*Calf muwallafat*) “[These are] a thousand made complete” (Lane 1863: 81). The *Pi'el* participle מַאֲלֵף “teacher” (BDB 48) also remains a possibility.
5. Note that the Arabic cognate of הַעֲנוֹנָה is غَنْج (gúnj) “[in the present day generally used to signify lascivious motion, or a wriggling of the body or hips, under the excitement of sexual passion, or to excite such passion]” (Lane 1877: 2300) and “to coquet, flirt, play the coquette (woman)” (Wehr 1979: 802).

XVII

ARABIC COGNATES WHICH CLARIFY THE SONG OF SONGS 1:3

INTRODUCTION

As a simple 3 + 3 + 3 tricolon, following a 3 + 3 bicolon, the poetic pattern of the Song of Songs 1:3 is very transparent. But the meaning of the second line (italicized below) has puzzled commentators and has been variously translated.

לְרִיחַ שָׁמְנֵיךְ טוֹבִים
שָׁמֵן תָּוֶnk שְׁמֵךְ
עַל־כָּn עַלְמֹות אֲהֻבָּיךְ

Sweet is the odor of thy perfumes,
Which perfume thou art, by thy name defused abroad.

Therefore do the damsels love thee.

(Ginsburg [1857] 1970: 130)

L'arôme de tes parfumes est exquis;
*ton nom est une huile qui' sépanche,*¹
c'est pourquoi les jeunes filles t'aiment.

(Robert 1963: 63)

Than the smell of your precious oil.

Turaq oil is your name.

Therefore girls love you.

(Pope 1977: 291)²

The fragrance of your perfume is pleasing,
flowing perfume, your name,
 therefore the maidens love you.

(Murphy 1990: 124)

Pope (1977: 300) commented, “The word *tûraq* remains obscure . . . *trq* is a term of some type of high grade cosmetic oil, as suggested by the context of its occurrence in the Song of Solomon.” Murphy (1990: 127), who essentially concurred with Pope, observed, “Although the word “flowing” [תַּוְרָק] is problematical, the intention is to intensify in some way the compliment that has just been made; now his very ‘name’ or person, is itself perfume.”³ Murphy concluded that the “ג (εκκενωθέν) and ו (effusum) are guides to the meaning of ‘poured out.’”

UGARITIC AND ARABIC COGNATES

Pope’s brief comment on עַלמֹות “girls” (1977: 300) that “the basic sense of the root ‘lm (Ugaritic and Arabic *glm*) has reference to sexual ripeness . . .” provides the methodological clue for interpreting the entire poetic line, namely, checking all the applicable Arabic and Ugaritic cognates.

The first word of verse 3, לִרְיָה, calls to mind two Ugaritic cognates: the emphatic particle *l* (= *lu*) “verily, surely” and *r̥h* “scent.”⁴ Murphy (1990: 124–125) applied this cognate in his translation (“Truly, your kisses are better than wine”). Ginsburg ([1857] 1970: 130) sensed this meaning, without the benefit of the Ugaritic cognate, when he stated, “The ל in

לְבִרְכָּה signifies *in, as regards, quoad*, and is frequently used for the sake of giving prominence to an idea.”

There are seven commonly recognized Arabic cognates related to the words in this verse: (1) غلام (*gulām*) “boy, girl, youth,” (2) ريحه (*rihat*) “smell, odor,” (3) سمن (*siman*) “fat, oil, ointment, perfume,” (4) طاب and טוב (*tâba*) “good, pleasant, delightful, delicious, sweet [in taste or odor],” (5) עלי and עלי (*alay*) “upon, on, over,” (6) אך and אך (*lakin*) “then, but,” and (7) ל and ל (*la*) “surely, verily, truly.”⁵

In addition, all the words in the phrase שֶׁמֶן תַּיְרֵק שֶׁמֶן have cognates in Arabic, which until now have gone unrecognized. First, the cognate of شمن (stem III) is ثمن (*taman*) “price, high-priced, of high value” and ثمين (*tamīn*) “costly, precious, valuable.”⁶ Secondly, the ר of תַּיְרֵק is cognate to راق / روق (*ruq/râqa*) “to be clear/pure, to surpass, to excel, to please, to delight,” rather than a cognate of راق / ريق (*rîq/râqa*) “to move to and fro, to pour out.”⁷ Thirdly, the מ of שמן, when repointed as שְׁמַן, can be read as the cognate of شم (*šamma*) “smelling, smell, scent, odor.”⁸

INTERPRETATION OF 1:3

The شمن of תַּיְרֵק שֶׁמֶן (1:3a) and the شمن of شמן תַּיְרֵק (1:3b)—which have been read as simple repetition—are in fact homographs of two clearly different stems in Arabic, namely, ثمن (*taman*) “high-priced, high value” and سمن (*siman*) “fat, oil, perfume.” Succinctly stated, the נטן was

רַבְשׁ, “the perfume was costly,” a highly valued and desirable commodity in and of itself.

In a poetic line which speaks so clearly about the רַבְשׁ “the scent” of perfume, the בָשׁ in chiastic parallelism with רַבְשׁ must surely be the synonym בָשׁ “scent, odor, smell, smelling,” noted above. Although lexicographers have cited شَمَة (šâ‘mat) “north” as a cognate of the בָשׁ of שָׂמָאל “the left, the north,” the Arabic cognate شَمَّ (šamma) “scent” went unnoticed. This oversight is a good example of what Barr (1968: 268) alluded to when he said,

. . . the ancient translators did their task remarkably well, considering the circumstances. Their grasp of Hebrew, however, was very often a grasp of that which is average and customary in Hebrew.

Because בָשׁ “name” occurs over 700 times in the Hebrew Bible, while בָשׁ “scent” occurs perhaps only once, it is not surprising that בָשׁ was misread as בָשׁ.

To make sense out of the MT שִׁמְךָ תֹּוֶרֶק שִׁמְנָן “perfume flowed your name,” interpreters have appealed to Ecc. 7:1, טוב שם מְשֻׁמֵּן טוב “a good name is better than good (perfume) oil,” and I Sam. 25:25, “בְשָׁמוֹ בְּנֵה וְאָנָה as his name so he is.” Ginsburg ([1857] 1970: 131) commented, “. . . the pleasant odours diffused by perfume soon became a metaphor to express the attractions which an agreeable person throws around him . . .” Pope (1977: 300) noted,

In Semitic usage the name represents the essence of a person or thing (cf. I Sam 25:25) hence the justifiable renderings of AT [American Translation], ‘your very self,’ and Gordis ‘thy presence,’ Jastrow ‘thou art.’

But Pope's rendering, "Turaq oil is your name," would be far more convincing if "name" were shifted to "scent," as proposed in this study. There is no reason to stay with an oblique metaphorical use of שם "name" since the literal meaning of שמן "scent" is available.

As Pope's transliteration of תוֹרָק suggests, the *Hop'āl* feminine singular imperfect used with the masculine singular nouns "oil" and "name" has been problematic and several emendations have been proposed.⁹ Although Pope (1977: 300), noted (citing Gordis) that ". . . a number of nouns are ambivalent in gender," שמן and שמן are *not* gender ambivalent. But שמן "scent" could well be like the Arabic مسک (*misk*) "musk" which is clearly gender ambivalent.¹⁰ If so, a feminine תוֹרָק is no problem.

Once תוֹרָק is recognized as a cognate of راق (*râqa*) "to be clear or pure, to surpass, to excel, to please, to delight," the meaning of the colon becomes transparent: שמן "your scent" is the subject of תוֹרָק and שמן "costly" modifies שמן. The *Hop'āl* imperfect followed by the *Qal* perfect אהבוך is another example of the poetic *yqtl-qtl* sequencing of verbs.¹¹ The costly perfume was made to *excite* and *delight* (תונך), with both the excitement and delight suggested by the verb. The verse can be repointed (*scriptio plene*) and translated as

לו ריח שמןיך טובים
שמעין תורק שמן
על-כןعلمות אהבוך

Truly, the scent of your perfume is very delightful.¹²
Precious, your scent was made to induce pleasure;
 therefore (young) women have loved you.

The suffixed verb, אָהַבְתָּךְ, ending 1:3 appears also at the end of 1:4, preceded by מִשְׁרִים, which Pope rendered as “Rightly do they love you,” commenting

The word *mēšārîm* has been considered difficult in the present context. LXX rendered *eutusēs egapēsen se*, “right loves you.” Vulgate *recti*, “the (up)right,” and similarly Syriac, Targum and Luther With the change of the last word from verb, “they loved you,” to noun, “your love,” a striking balance is attained with parallel words for wine and love.¹³

But the MT can be retained once מִשְׁרִים is read in the light of the Arabic cognate يُسْر (yusr) “easiness, richness, opulence wealth, luxury, abundance” (Lane 1893: 2977b; Wehr 1979: 1297). The plural מִשְׁרִים can be understood as a plural of intensity, like טוֹבִים, noted above. In this way, מִשְׁרִים אָהַבְתָּךְ means “they loved you more than great luxuries” (with the “great” added to indicate the plural of intensity), which escalates the preceding cohortative comparison, “let us extol your love more than wine.”

CONCLUSION

The consonantal text of Song of Songs 1:3 provides no difficulties to the interpreter, although *scriptio plene* of the emphatic particle as וְלֹא (=וְלֹא) would have been helpful. The problems have been with the versions and lexicons which

failed to recognize rare words in Hebrew which have widely attested cognates in Arabic. For example, the semantic range of טוֹב in Arabic includes “sweet” and “pleasant” when applied to wine or perfume; and the cognate of יְשָׁרָם suggests not only “right, upright,” but in certain contexts it indicates “wealth” and “luxury.”

Lapses in oral tradition permitted סְנֵן “scent” to be pointed as שְׁמוֹן “name” and נְמַשֵּׁן or נְמַשֵּׁן “costly” to be misread as נְמַשֵּׁן “oil.” The failure of lexicographers to recognize רִيق / رِيق (*rîq/râqa*) “to please, to delight,” along with רִעֲקָה / رِعَّة (*rîqâ/râqa*) “to pour out,” made subsequent exegesis of 1:3 difficult. However, when cognates of *all* the words of this verse come into focus, the meaning of the tricolon becomes quite evident.

NOTES

1. Following the LXX, μύρον ἐκκενωθεν ὄνομά σου “thy name is ointment poured forth.”
2. Pope joined 1:3a with 1:2b “Truly, sweeter is your love than wine, Than the smell of your precious oil.”
3. Murphy (1990: 125) further elaborated on the problem: “The repetition of נְמַשֵּׁן (‘perfume’) is particularly effective, and it forms a play on שְׁמוֹן (‘name’). However, ‘flowing’ [שְׁרָם] is a doubtful translation; شَرَم would seem to be the *Hop^cal* of קָרַךְ (‘poured out’), but it is not in agreement with נְמַשֵּׁן, which is always masculine.”

150 ARABIC COGNATES WHICH CLARIFY

4. *UT* 425 #1339, 483 #2308 and #2315, respectively. See also McDaniel 1968: 206–208 for a discussion and other references to the emphatic **ל**.
5. See BDB and KBS, *sub voce*. For the **ل** (*la*) “surely,” see Lane 1893: 3006 and Wehr 1979: 998.
6. Stem II is used to designate the **לָמֶשׁ** of **לְמַנְשֵׁה** “eight.”
7. See BDB 937; Lane 1867: 1202–1203, 1190–1192; Wehr 1979: 427, 431.
8. See Lane 1872: 1593–1594; Wehr 1979: 566–567.
9. The proposed emendation are noted in KBS 3: 1228; Pope 1977: 300; and Murphy 1990: 125.
10. See Lane 1893: 3020; Wehr 1979: 1066.
11. Compare Psa 8:7 and Lam 3:22. See McDaniel 1968: 213–215 and references cited there.
12. Reading **טוֹבִים** as a plural of intensity (GKC 124°).
13. See Pope 1977: 305 for a summary of other proposals to make MT **מִישְׁרִים** into some kind of wine (**מִירְשִׁים**) or songs (**שִׁירִים**).

XVIII

THE EXCITED STALLIONS OF JEREMIAH 5:8

INTRODUCTION

The first four words of Jer 5:8 include two of the easiest words to recognize in Hebrew (**סוס** “horse” and **הַיְהּ** “to be, to become”) and two words, *hapax logomena*, which have not yet been properly identified (**מִזְנִים** “well-fed” [RSV] and **מְשֻׁבִּים** “lusty” [RSV]). Carroll (1986: 178), succinctly stated that Jer 5:8a is “a difficult line,” and McKane (1986: 119) noted that these two words “cannot be elucidated with any confidence, but the general meaning of the verse is not in doubt.” Holladay (1986: 174, 181) stated “*M[asoretic]* **מִזְנִים** has given steady difficulty; the Versions are of no help” and concluded, “The second attribute **מְשֻׁבִּים** is even more puzzling [than that of **מִזְנִים**].”

The Hebrew and Greek texts of Jer 5:8 and the varied ways they have been interpreted, including the translations proposed in this study, are as follows

סוסים מִזְנִים מְשֻׁבִּים הָיוּ

they were *as* fed horses in the morning

(5:8a, KJV)

they were well-fed lusty stallions

(5:8a, Jones, Carroll)

attracted stallions from Meshech they have been

(5:8a, Holladay)

they were stallions about to discharge semen

(5:8a, McDaniel)

ἴπποι θηλυμανεῖς ἐγενήθησαν

(5:8a, Septuagint)

they became as wanton horses

(Septuagint 5:8a, Carroll)

they became horses mad about women

(Septuagint 5:8a, McKane)

they were stallions frenzied-by-females

(Septuagint 5:8a, McDaniel)

אִישׁ אַלְמָשָׁת רֵעוֹה יִצְהָלֶן

every one neighed after his neighbour's wife

(5:8b, KJV)

ἐκαστος ἐπὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ

ἐχρεμέτιζον (Septuagint 5:8b)

they neighed everyone for his neighbour's wife.

(Septuagint 5:8b, Thomson)

PROBLEMS

Jer 5:8b is as easy as 5:8a is difficult, and 5:8b can be dispensed with by the single observation that the verb **אַלְמָשָׁת** “to neigh, to cry shrilly,” occurs also in Jer 31:7 (where it is a synonym of **שִׁמְחָה** “joy” of people) and in 50:11 (where it is used with **אֲבָרִים** “bulls”). But 5:8a is a different story, as noted, with the spelling of the second word being uncertain. Commentators have noted the difference between the Occidental *Kethib* מִזְנִים and the MT מִזְנִים. Kennicott (1780: II: 96) also cited twelve manuscripts having the MT מִזְנִים,

and two with the Occidental מְוֹזָנִים, along with eighteen other manuscripts reading either מְוֹזָנִים (15 texts) or (2 מְזֻזָּנִים or 1 מְזֻזָּנִים).¹

Commentators and lexicographers have identified the stem of מְזַזֵּן to be “to feed” or מְזַזֵּן “to be heavy,” resulting in the translations “well-fed” and “heavy.” The latter definition was thought to be a reference to the weight of the מְשֻׁבֶּיכָם, which supposedly meant “testicles” (see below), resulting in the following equation: “heavy testicles” = “being well hung” = “lusty.” Holladay (1986: 181), in disagreement with these interpretations appealed to the single use of מְזַזֵּן “to equip” in *Gittim* 67a to argue (in agreement with Jastrow’s “well provided” [1896: 217]) for “attrapped stallions,” i.e., “well equipped stallions.” He denied that מְזֻזָּנִים had any sexual meaning.

SOLUTIONS

But there are other possibilities for the roots of מְזֻזָּנִים / מְזַזֵּנִים than מְזַזֵּן and מְזַזֵּן—once it is remembered that the Arabic ذ (d) and ز (z), appear in Hebrew as נ—and herein lies the solution to the crux of מְזֻזָּנִים. The Arabic cognates of ذ נין include (1) ذنين (*dinîn*) “any sort of thin mucus or a thin fluid, . . . the seminal fluid of a stallion, and of an ass, and of a man that flows from the penis by reason of excessive appetite,” (2) زنانى (*zunânah*) “mucus that falls from the nose of camels, a variant of ذنانى (*dunânah*),” and (3) the verb ذن (*danna*) “it (what is termed ذنين [*dinîn*], or mucus or . . . seminal fluid) flowed” (Lane 1867: 979, 1255).²

By opting for the Occidental *kethib*—disregarding the MT מִזְנִים and all the variants in Kennicott—a *Hophal* participle (*scriptio plene*, like the MT מַזְקָעִים “the ones hanged” in 2 Sam 21:13), can be recognized and translated as “ones whose seminal fluid have been made to flow.”

As already noted, מַשְׁבִּים is thought by some to mean “testicles,” a variant form of מַשְׁנִים (appearing in Lev 21: 20), with the נ of the original מַאשְׁבִּים having been elided and a ב prefixed for unknown reasons. Holladay (1986: 181) rejected this identification since “. . . the omission of the ’alep is dubious.” He preferred instead Jastrow’s idea that מַשְׁבִּים is a gentilic plural meaning “the people of Meshech” (mentioned in Ezek 27:13–14). But Holladay ignored the gentilic plural element—while at the same time affirming that “*the Masoretic vocalization as well as the consonantal text will be correct* (italics mine)” —and settled for “attracted stallions of Meshech,” concluding:

If this understanding is sound, the attributes of the stallions in this colon are not sexual; the sexual reference comes only in the second colon [of 5:8]. War horses become aroused and excited when ready for battle (compare 8:6); if this interpretation is correct, Jrm is associating martial excitement with sexual excitement.

But this suggestion is no more convincing than having the physiological condition of “weighty testicles” being interpreted as the equivalent of “dragging [the phallus],” which supposedly referred some sort of erotic activity of stallions.

“Attrapped stallions of Meshech” could be the translation were the Hebrew text emended to **סְוִסֵּי מַשְׁקָּה מֹזְנוּנִים**.

Jeremiah’s **מַשְׁבִּים**, just like the Arabic **مَشْبِيم**, can best be interpreted in light of an Arabic cognate, once it is remembered that in Hebrew and Arabic the **ל** and the **ك** may be interchangeable, like **DAQ** / **دَقَّ** (*daq*) and **DAK** / **دَكَّ** (*dak*), both meaning “to crush” (BDB 194, 200; Jastrow 1903: 307, 319). Similarly, **מַשְׁבִּים** can be derived from the stem **يَسْكَنُ** which would be a cognate to the Arabic **وَسْكَنَ** (*wašuka*), which in form II means “to be quick, to hurry” and in form IV means “to be on the point of, or the verge of (doing something)” (Lane 1893: 3054; Wehr 1979: 1255). By repointing **מַשְׁבִּים** to **שְׁבִּים**, the *Hophal* participle of **يَسْكَنُ** can be restored (*scriptio defectiva*, like the **מַעֲשָׂה** [= **מַעֲשָׂה**] “wearied” in Dan. 9:21, which differs only in that it is a singular participle). As noted above, one of the redundant **ו**’s or **ו**’s in the variants **מֹזְנוּנִים** and **מוֹזְנוּנִים** could be a misplaced vowel letter intended for **מַשְׁבִּים**, to be read *scriptio plene* as **מוֹשְׁבִּים**.

Another Arabic cognate helps to resolve the uncertainty surrounding the **וַיַּגְדְּלוּ** “assembled themselves by troops” (KJV) in Jer 5:7b, which adds support to use of Arabic cognates in the above interpretation of Jer 5:8a. The Greek translators must have read **ιατάρρων** and translated it as **κατέλυον** “they were lodging,” as though the stem was **גָּרַר** I “to sojourn,” which often comes in parallel with **יָשַׁבּ** “to dwell.”

The desiderated meaning of the **וַיַּתְּגַדְּלוּ** / **וַיַּתְּגַדְּרוּ** is found with **גָּרַר** stem IV which is the cognate of Arabic **جَارٌ/جَرَرٌ** (*jâra*) “he declined or deviated from the right course . . . he

acted wrongfully, unjustly, injuriously, or tyrannically” (Lane 1865: 483) and “to commit an outrage” and جور (*jaur*) “outrage, wanton deviation” (Wehr 1979: 173).

The confusion of ד and ר is so widely attested that the emendation of MT יתגָּדרוּ to יתגָּדרוּ is but a minor adjustment to the text.³ Jeremiah’s use of בֵּית זוֹנָה “brothel”—in light of the Arabic cognate زون (*zûn*) “an idol, and anything taken as a deity and worshiped beside God . . . a place in which idols are collected and set up” (Lane, 1867: 1273 and 1268)—could actually be a shrine to other gods.⁴ Either way, be it a brothel or a shrine, Jeremiah accused his audience of committing an outrage and deviating from the right course.

CONCLUSIONS

Once the Arabic cognates ذن (*danna*) and واشك (*wašuka*) are in focus the problematic MT סוסים מזינים משכבים קיו are in focus the problematic MT סוסים מזינים משכבים קיו can be read and translated as “they were stallions on the verge of discharging semen.” The Greek ὅπποι θηλυμανεῖς ἐγενήθησαν “they were stallions frenzied by females” was obviously an euphemistic alternative to the sexually graphic language of Jeremiah. At the risk of using a colloquialism, but following the pattern of the Septuagint, Jer 5:8 could be rendered euphemistically in English as “they were stallions on the verge of coming—every one neighing after his neighbor’s wife.”

NOTES

1. See Delitzsch (1920: 103–105 §103^{a b c}) for examples of the confusion of נ and נֶ. It seems likely that one of the redundant נ's and נֶ's in these variants was a misplaced vowel letter intended for the מושבים מושבִים to be read as מושבִים.
2. Note also ذناء (*dannā'u*) used for a woman whose nostrils flow or “a woman *whose menstrual discharge ceases not*”(Lane 1867: 979c).
3. See Delitzsch (1920: 105–107 §104^{a b c}) for examples of the confusion of בֵּת and בַּת.
4. Note Carroll’s questions (1986: 179):

Is the community being condemned for its religious or sexual practices? Does the brothel (*bēt zōnāh*) refer to such houses of ill-repute used by prostitutes or to Canaanite places of worship? . . . The use of such metaphors invites these questions, but answering them is a difficult interpretative task.

The interpretative task, however, becomes much easier once all the lexical options are investigated, including cognates not listed in the standard lexicons of Biblical/Judean Hebrew.

XIX

THE FEMALE ENAMORS THE MALE

JEREMIAH 31:21-22

INTRODUCTION

The difficulties encountered in the interpretation of Jer 31:21–22 led Holladay (1966: 239) to conclude that

the nation [of Israel was] personified as a virgin or daughter and therefore tender, innocent, and helpless . . . he [God] will reverse the sex roles so that the female has priority, initiative, dominance over the male . . . the female will surmount the warrior!

A number of years later (1989: 194–195) he argued that Jer 31:21–22 was a counterfoil to Jer 30:6, where the male was mocked “for acting like a female in the demoralization of battle.” For Holladay it was clear that נָקָבָה תְּסֻוַּבֵּ בְּנָבָר “the female will surmount the warrior!” simply indicated a reversal of sexual roles: “The reassignment of sexual roles is innovative past all conventional belief, but it is not inconceivable to Yahweh.”

By contrast, Carroll (1986: 601–602) conjectured that the נָקָבָה תְּסֻוַּבֵּ בְּנָבָר in Jer 31:22b could be a code for coitus: “the vagina envelops the penis.” But since there really was nothing new about that, he confessed in conclusion:

The wiser course of the exegete is to admit ignorance and acknowledge that ancient texts occasionally do baffle the modern hermeneut. 31:22b is one such baffling text. . . . I must admit that I do not know what v. 22b means.

This study will focus primarily on the Arabic cognates of the Hebrew lexemes found in Jer 31:21–22 which provide additional insight for interpreting the text. The Arabic cognates of twenty-nine of the thirty-three lexemes in these two verses have long been cited in the standard lexicons of Biblical Hebrew. An *Addendum* to this study lists these cognates, with endnotes giving lexical references and basic definitions. Relevant *nuances* of five of the twenty-nine Arabic cognates recognized in BDB and/or KBS have gone unnoticed. They will be presented in this study, along with two alternative cognates for **אֱלֹהָה**, and two cognates proposed for **שְׁבַב/סְבַב**.

For convenience, the text in Hebrew and Greek is presented, with my translation of each. The unusual readings in the Greek text are then examined, with Arabic cognates providing the requisite clues for relating the Greek translation to the Hebrew text. Following the study of the Greek variants, the difficulties in the Hebrew text are addressed. (Words in italics are those which receive attention in this study.)

Masoretic Text

הִצְבֵּי לְךָ צִנְיָנִים שְׁמֵי לְךָ תְּמִרּוֹרִים

Set up for yourself *stone-markers*,

make for yourself *stone-signs*;

שְׂתֵּי לְבָךְ לִמְסָלָה דֶּרֶךְ הַלְּכָתָה/הַלְּכָתִי (K/Q)

pay attention to the roadway — the road *you traveled*.

שׁוּבֵי בְּתוּלָת וְשָׁרָאֵל שׁוּבֵי אֶל-עֲרֵיךְ אֱלֹהָה:

Return, O *Virtuous Israel*, return to your *negligent city*.

עֲדַמְתִּי תְּחִמְקָנֵן הַבָּתָה הַשׁוֹבֶבֶה

How long will you remain *stupid*, O faithless daughter?

כִּרְבָּרָא יְהוָה חֶדְשָׁה בָּאָרֶץ

Yea, Yahweh created a new thing on the earth:

נָקְבָּה חַסְוֹבָב בָּבָר

the female enamours the male.

Septuagint

ἡσουν σεαυτήν Σιων ποίησον τιμωρίαν

Prepare yourself, O Zion; execute “vengeance”

δός καρδίαν σου εἰς τοὺς ὄμους

place your heart upon the *shoulders*

όδὸν δὲν ἐπορεύθης ἀποστράφητι παρθένος Ισραὴλ

(using) the road by which you went, return, O virgin of Israel,

ἀποστράφητι εἰς τὰς πόλεις σου πενθοῦσα

return to your cities, *O Mourner*

έως πότε ἀποστρέψεις θυγάτηρ ἡτιμωμένη

How long, O *wayward* daughter, will you turn away?

ὅτι ἔκτισεν κύριος σωτηρίαν εἰς καταφύτευσιν καινήν

for the Lord has created *safety* for a new *plantation*:

ἐν σωτηρίᾳ περιελεύσονται ἄνθρωποι

in *safety* men shall go about.

SEPTUAGINTAL VARIANTS

I. The Septuagint has a number of interesting variations in 38:21–22 (= MT 31:21–22) requiring a number of different explanations. The Septuagint translators did not understand **צַיִן נִיר** so they simply transliterated it as **σιωνιμ**, which was subsequently read as Σιων (Zion), requiring secondarily the deletion of the **ιμ** which transliterated the plural ending **מִם**.¹

II. The Septuagint τιμωρίαν “vengeance,” which does not fit the context, resulted from a misreading of the transliteration of מִנְמָרְוִיִּם as τιμωριμ, which was then translated. The *translation* of a *transliteration* is attested elsewhere, as in Jud 5:21, where the MT הַלְמֹו was transliterated as ομαλιει in the Greek MSS identified as Mnamyb₂o' kk* and in the eight Lucianic MSS dgknptvw. (The *Vorlage* of the latter group had הַלְמֹו instead of the הַלְמֹו and in MSS k and k* it was transliterated as αμα λαω.) The Armenian text (= Latin *planabunt* “they will level”) has a *translation of the transliteration*, as though ομαλιει were from ὁμαλίζω “to make level.”

III. The Septuagint δὸς καρδίαν σου εἰς τοὺς ὕμους, “set your mind upon the shoulders,” reflects an obvious misreading of οἴμους “roads, paths” as ὕμους (suggested by Rudolph [1970] in BHS). The εἰς την τριβον “upon the beaten track” (= הַלְמֹו), found in Aquila and Symmachus (Ziegler 1957: 360), indicates that the problem was in the Greek text tradition, not in the Hebrew *Vorlage*.

IV. The MT גַּן בָּקָר⁴¹ in 31:22b was translated in the Septuagint as εἰς καταφύτευσιν “for a planting/plantation” (Liddell and Scott 1966: 920, 1965), which is most unusual since γῆ is the translation of גַּן well over 600 times. However, there is no need to assume that the Septuagint had a different *Vorlage* here. Nuances of גַּן surviving in Arabic provide the explanation for this translation and support the integrity of the MT. Most Hebrew lexicons simply define גַּן as “earth, land, or countries”—often citing the Arabic (أَرْض) *(ard)*. But Arabic has also the verb with its participle (أَرْيَد) *(ariyd)* meaning, “a land that is thriving, or productive

... disposed by nature to yield good produce . . . and become luxuriant with herbage” (Lane 1863: 47). Castell (1669: 479) defined it as “terra proventu laeta & luxurians, luxurians gramen : amœna & conspectu grata”). The verb appears with its cognate accusative: ارضت الارض (^۲arudat ^۱al’arḍu) meaning, “the land became thriving . . . and became luxuriant with herbage . . . or pasture.” The corresponding term was evidently available in Hebrew and would have appeared as יְרַאָה or יְרַאָת (scriptio defectiva). The Greek translators were apparently aware of this יְרַאָת “luxuriant land.”

V. In Jer 38:22 (MT 31:22) the Septuagint has σωτηρίαν . . . σωτηρία, the repetition of the noun meaning “deliverance, a way or means of safety, safe return, security, salvation” (Liddell and Scott 1966: 1751). Given the reference in 31:22 to the “planting” and “plantation” (καταφύτευσιν), the Septuagint translators probably intended σωτηρίαν to mean “security” (when planting in the fields or when those in exile traveling homeward would be at risk of attacks by robbers). Given the “roads” mentioned 31:21 (ῷμους = οἵμους = τριβού) [see III, above], the translators may have intended σωτηρία to mean “safe and secure” along the trek home.

While the Greek text fits the context, it does not match the Hebrew text. The σωτηρίαν . . . σωτηρία seemingly stands in lieu of a word for the MT נִקְבָּה “woman.” Two errors seem to have occurred: (1) the נִקְבָּה in the *Vorlage* was misread as נִקְדָּה or נִקְזָה “to save,” and (2) the uncertainty over נִקְדָּה or נִקְזָה resulted in a dittography in the *Vorlage*. The stem behind the Septuagint reading is the cognate of Arabic نَقِدَ (naqida) “he became safe, in safety,

saved, liberated” and the noun نَقْدٌ (*naqad*) “a thing that one has rescued or liberated” (Lane 1893: 2837). This cognate was noted by KBS (II: 719) and had been cited by Castell (1669: 2396) “defensio, protectio, redemptor, liberatio.” The نَ (d) of the Arabic cognate نَقْدٌ (*naqida*) would ordinarily become a נָ in Hebrew and a נְ in Aramaic. But Hebrew has the verbs נִקַּד and נִקְזֵן meaning “to puncture” (Jastrow 931), and by analogy one could anticipate either נִקְדֵּנָה or נִקְזֵנָה for the cognate meaning “to be safe, to save, to liberate.”

בְּתוּלָה THE MEANING OF

The feminine imperatives in 31:21 are addressed to the בְּתוּלָה “Virgin Israel.” The noun בְּתוּלָה is a *Qal* passive participle (GKC 84^m) of בַּתְּלָל “to separate, to cut off.” While popular interpretations assume the separation was from all sexual activity (*virgo intacta*), the separation was actually *for* devotion to God. This noun could be used for someone with a husband, like the בְּתוּלָה “virgin” who was in sackcloth for the בֶּעֱלָה “husband” of her youth (Joel 1:8).

The use of بَتَلْ (= بَلْ) in *Sura 73:8* in the *Qur'an* is relevant: وَتَبَلَّ إِلَيْهِ تَبَلِّاً (watabattal 'ilayhi tabtilâ) “and devote yourself with complete devotion [to God].” Lane (1863: 150) cited this verse and provided the following definition for بَاتَلَ (batala) form V: “He detached himself from worldly things, and devoted himself to God, or he devoted himself to God exclusively, and was sincere, or without hypocrisy, towards Him . . . or he abstained from sexual intercourse, and hence, [بَلْ] is metaphorically employed to denote exclusive devotion to God.” In short, بَلْ (batala) addressed primarily

one who was virtuous and devout, and only secondarily did it focus on celibacy and virginity.

If Hebrew **בְּתִלְל** shared any of these Arabic nuances, the **בְּתִילָה יִשְׂרָאֵל** would be better translated “Virtuous Israel” rather than “Virgin Israel, recognizing that “virtuous” means “one with moral excellence,” as well as a “celibate woman.” The **חֶרֶף** “disgrace/shame” of Ephraim’s youth (Jer 31:19) included the hypocrisy of being called “Virtuous Israel.”

When the definition of **בְּתוּלָה** becomes focused on *virgo intacta*, the following statements of Tsevat (1977: 341–343) need to be taken seriously:

It is a mistake to look for a deep religious idea in *bethulath bath tsiyyon*, ‘virgin daughter of Zion,’ etc. . . . Neither the word nor the concept of “virgin” and “virginity” is of any importance in the religious thought of the OT and in the earliest history of the interpretation of this idea.

The definition of **בְּתוּלָה** must be grounded in the recognition that **בַּתְּלָל** “to cut, to sever, to separate” is a by-form of **בַּדְלָל** “to sever, to divide, to separate.” Israel was as much a **בְּתוּלָה מִזְבְּדָלָה** (a *Hoph'al* participle) as she was a **בְּתוּלָה** (a *Qal* passive participle). The biblical tradition is quite explicit, as in Lev 20:24, “I am the LORD your God, who have separated (**הַבְּדָלָתִי**) you from the peoples”; Lev 20:26, You shall be holy to me; for I the LORD am holy, and have separated (**וְאַבְדָּל**) you from the peoples, that you should be mine”; and also I Kings 8:53, “For thou didst separate them (**הַבְּדָלָתֶם**) from among all the peoples of the earth, to be thy heritage.” Similarly, Moses said to Korah, “the God of Israel has separated (**הַבְּדִיל**) you from the congregation of Israel, to bring

you near to himself, to do service in the tabernacle of the LORD” (Num 16:9).

Hebrew **בדל** has a semantic range similar to Arabic *batal* (*batala*). So much so that by analogy Hebrew **בדל** and **בחל** could have been interchangeable, with one surviving as a noun and participle and the other primarily as a verb. These two stems are examples of the interchange of **נ** and **ד**, like (1) “**בדק**” “to cleave, to cut” and **בתק** “to cut, to cut off” and (2) **בָת** (*batt*) “he separated, he severed” and **בָדֵד** (*badd*) “he separated, he withdrew.”

Once **בְתוּלָה** is recognized as a synonym of **מוֹבְדַלָה**, and not restricted to the definitions of seclusion and *virgo intacta*, the term will have profound religious significance, echoing Exo 19:5–6 “you shall be my own possession among all peoples; for all the earth is mine, but you shall be to me a kingdom of priests (מֶמְלָכָת כְהָנִים) and a holy nation” and Amos 3:2 “you only have I known of all the families of the earth.” It is unfortunate that **בְתוּלָה יִשְׂרָאֵל** became disassociated from the concept of **מֶמְלָכָת כְהָנִים**, i.e., a nation which detached itself from worldly things, and devoted itself to God,” as suggested by the cognate **בְטל** (*batala*), discussed above.² The interpretation of **בְתוּלָה יִשְׂרָאֵל** would be well served by terms like “devotee” or “separatist,” the latter of which would be analogous to **פָרוֹשָׁה** “Pharisee,” a *Qal* passive participle like **בְתוּלָה**, both of which are from stems meaning “to separate.” Both **פָרוֹשָׁה יִשְׂרָאֵל** and **מֶבְדַלָה יִשְׂרָאֵל** would be synonymous with **בְתוּלָה יִשְׂרָאֵל**, and all three could have been used to indicate Israel’s being separated for devotion to God. The feminine form carries no sexual

significance. The **בָּתוֹלַת** is feminine because the gentilic **בֵּת יְרוּשָׁלָם** and **בֵּת צִיּוֹן** was feminine, like **יִשְׂרָאֵל**.³

עֲרֵיךְ אֱלֹהֶיךְ THE MEANING OF אלה

A *double entendre* may be hidden in Jeremiah's command: **שְׁבֵי אָלָּה עֲרֵיךְ אֱלֹהֶיךְ**²⁹, which in the Septuagint became ἀποστράφητε εἰς τὰς πόλεις σου πενθοῦσα, “return to your cities, O Mourner.” Holladay noted (1989: 193) that the MT **אָלָה** was interpreted in the Septuagint like the imperative in Joel 1:8, **אָלֵי כְּבָתוֹלָה חֲנֻרְתִּישָׁק עַל-בָּעֵל נְעוּרִיתָ**, “Mourn [θρήνησον] like a virgin girdled with sackcloth over the husband of her youth!” Holladay dismissed the MT **אָלָה** “these” as well as the Septuagint’s πενθοῦσα “mourner,” for not fitting a context of joy and triumph, suggested by Jer 31:7 “sing aloud with gladness for Jacob, and raise shouts for the chief of the nations; proclaim, give praise.” He offered what he admitted was a very “bold” emendation by reading **בָּעֵלה** “mastery” for the MT **אָלָה**, creating a clear association with the subject of the sentence, **בָּתוֹלַת**, and providing poetic assonance by having **בָּעֵלה** and **בָּתוֹלַת** appearing in the same line.

But Jer 31:9, “**בּבָכִי יָבֹאוּ וּבְתִחְנוּנִים**” (“they will come with weeping and with agonizing pains”) mitigates against creating a triumphal context for 31:21. Although many commentators prefer the Septuagint’s παρακλήσει “consolation” (assuming the *Vorlage* had **נְחָם** rather than **חָנֵן**), the MT fits the context fine once the proper nuance of **חָנֵן** is recovered. The Arabic cognate حن (*hann*) (BDB 335; Lane 1865: 653–654), often connotes intense emotional pain and violent

outbreaks of crying, particularly مُسْتَحْنَ (mustaḥan) “one who is affected with intense emotion by longing for his home,” and حَنِين (ḥanîn) “the expression of pain arising from yearning or longing or desire, [the] violence of weeping proceeding from grief.” Arabic حَنَان (ḥannân) “grieving and moaning” is also relevant here. Consequently, the MT תְּחִנּוּנִים, when coupled with בַּכִּי “weeping,” (in Jer 3:21 and 31:9) probably connoted deep visceral pain and its accompanying moans, rather than rational “supplications” (which would be preferable when the parallel is תְּפִלָּה “prayer”).

In lieu of Holladay’s bold emendation, an examination of the cognates of אלה leads to a very modest emendation. The demonstrative אלה is the cognate of أولى (‘ulay). But as a noun or verb אלה could be the cognate of אלה (‘aliha), which Lane (1863: 82) defined as “. . . he became, confounded, or perplexed, and unable to see his right course . . . he was, or became, vehemently impatient, or affected with vehement grief, or he manifested vehement grief and agitation.” The verb אלה (‘aliha) was probably derived from ول (waliha) meaning “he became bereft of his reason or intellect, in consequence of grief . . . or intense grief, or of the loss of the beloved” (Lane 1893: 3060). Given the interchange of עַ and לְ stems, Arabic اليل (‘alîl = אלה = אלל) “the state of a mother who has lost her children” (Hava 11) is relevant.

The Vorlage of MT עַרְיִךְ אלה was probably عַרְיִיךְ אלה or عַרְיִיךְ אלה (= אלה). The عַרְיִיךְ אלה like its cognatealah (‘lh), would have meant “bereft” and عַרְיִיךְ אלה would have meant “your bereft cities.” The confusion of ה and ת is well attested (Delitzsch 1920: 107–109, §105^{a-b}), as in Jer 52:21 where

“**קָמָה הַעֲמֵד**” “the height of the pillar” appears incorrectly for **קָמָת הַעֲמֵד** found in I Kings 7:15.

Jer 31:21–22 is a sub-unit of 31:15–22, with clear and definite unifying elements, like the use of “**תִּמְרוֹרִים**” “mourning” in 31:15 and “**תְּאַמְרוֹרִים** (= “**תִּמְרוֹרִים**” “stone cairns”) in 31:21. The motif of a grief stricken town is the dominant theme of Jer 31:15–16

קוֹל בָּרֶמֶה נִשְׁמָע נָהִי בְּכֵי תִּמְרוֹרִים
רְחֵל מִבְּכָה עַל־בְּנֵיהֶם
מְאֻנָה לְהִנְחָם עַל־בְּנֵיהֶם כִּי אִינָנוּ . . .
מְנַעֵי קוֹלךְ מִבְּכֵי וּעַינֵךְ מִדְמַעָה

A voice is heard in *Ramah*,
 lamentation and bitter weeping
Rachel is weeping for her children;
 she refuses to be comforted for her children
 because they are not . . .
 Keep your voice from weeping
 and your eyes from tears.

Were the names **רֶמֶה** and **רְחֵל** and the preposition **מִן** removed from 31:15–16, the remaining words would provide a good definition of **אֱלֹהָה** or **אֱלֹהִים** or **אֱלֹהָה**. A succinct paraphrase of 31:15 would be **רֶמֶה אֱלֹהָה** or **רֶמֶה אֱלֹהִים** “Ramah became grief-stricken” (following the vocalization noted in GKC 67^{bb} and 75¹). With the shift from the singular **רֶמֶה** to the plural **עַרְבִּיךְ** in 31:21, **אֱלֹהָה** or **אֱלֹהִים** would become plural modifiers: **אֱלֹהָות** or **אֱלֹהִים** (*scriptio defectiva*).

Because Jer 31:6 focused on Zion (צִיּוֹן) (צִיּוֹן), reading the MT **עַרְבִּיךְ** as **עַירְיךְ**

“your city” (= Zion) remains a reasonable option. The MT אֶלְהָה could be then be repointed as אֶלְהָה or אֶלְהָה for “your grief-stricken city,” and Lam 1:1–4, which reads as follows, would support this meaning for אֶלְהָה or אֶלְהָה.

אִיכָּה יִשְׁבָּה בֶּרֶד הָעִיר רַבְתִּי עַם
 הַיְתָה בְּאַלְמָנָה
 רַבְתִּי בְּנוּם שְׂרָתִי בְּמִדְינָה
 הַיְתָה לְמַס:
 בְּכוֹ חֲבֵכָה בְּלִילָה
 וְרַמְעַתָּה עַל לְחִיה
 אִין־לָה מְנֻחָם מְכֻל־אַחֲבֵיה

Oh, how the city
 —the “Mistress of the people”—
 sat alone/mourning!⁴
 The “Mistress among the nations”
 had become like a widow.
 The “Princess among the provinces”
 had become a vassal.
 She weeps bitterly nightly,
 her tears on her cheeks.
 Among all here lovers
 no one to comfort her.

Consequently, the modest emendation proposed here is to change אֶלְהָה to עַירְךָ or emend to אֶלְהָה in order to read “grief-stricken city” (a reference to Zion as in Jer 31:6) or “grief-stricken cities” (referring to Ramah [Jer 31:15] and the cities / towns of Ephraim [Jer 31: 18]).

Because many לְה stems were originally לְו stems, the Arabic (لَو / الْأَلَّا), “he fell short of doing what was

requisite, or what he ought to have done” (Lane 1863: 83), is another likely cognate of **אֱלֹהִים** in the context of Jer 31:15–22.

In Jer 31:19 Ephraim had confessed **בָּשְׂתִּי וַיִּנְגַּדֵּל מֵתִי** “I was ashamed, and very⁵ humiliated, for I bore the disgrace of my youth.” Overtones of this confession may be hidden behind the MT **עָרָיוֹךְ אֱלֹהִים**. In light of the Arabic cognate (*‘alā*) “negligent, derelict,” **עָרִיךְ** and **עָרָךְ אֱלֹהִים** could be translated “your negligent cities” and “your derelict city.”

נקבה סבב נבר THE MEANING

The Greek σωτηρία meaning “safety, security” for the MT **נקבה** “woman,” as noted above, resulted from a *Vorlage* being misread as **נקזה** or **נקודה** “to save,” and requires no further comment here.

The three words **נקבה סבב נבר** led Bright (1965: 282) to comment that the meaning of the final phrase of Jer 31:22 “is wholly obscure, and it might have been wiser to leave the colon blank.” Carroll (1986: 601) concurred, stating that this colon is “perhaps the most difficult half-line in the book of Jeremiah.” Similarly, Holladay (1989: 192) commented that “the whole passage is startling”; and Jones, (1992: 394) called Jer 31:21–22 as a whole a “tantalising [sic] oracle.”

A sampling of what Carroll called the “lapidary” results of exegetical endeavors include the following translations and Talmudic reference:

The Woman sets out to find her Husband again

JB

the woman must encompass the man with devotion

NAB

a woman turned into a man

NEB

A woman shall court a man

Torah

the woman shall embrace the man

Peshitta

[A female shall compass a man(?)]

Bright (1965: 282)

the female will surmount the warrior

Holladay (1966:239)

die Verwünschte wandelt sich zur Herrin

the cursed one changes to a queen

Rudolph (1968: 199)

The woman must protect the soldier

Lundbom (1975: 33)

the vagina envelops the penis (?)

Carroll (1986: 602)

a female shall encompass a hero

Holladay (1989:154)

a good woman will be a protecting wall of wisdom

(*Yebamoth* 62b)

In the opinion of the author only the *Torah* translation (with “courtship”) and the NAB (with “devotion”) are somewhat on target, along with association of the *woman* with *wisdom* in *Yebamoth* 62b. The reasons for this conclusion follow.

I. נָקַבְתָּה.⁴² This anatomically descriptive Hebrew term for “female” is not attested in Arabic, though the stem meaning

“to perforate” is well attested. The Arabic **نقاب** (*naqâb*) refers to a woman’s face veil “from out of which appears the circuit of the eyes.” The feminine **نقيبة** (*naqîbat*) means “the mind, understanding, intellect, intelligence” and is a synonym of **عقل** (*aql*) “understanding, intellect.”⁶ The masculine **نقاب** (*naqâb*) refers to “a man of great knowledge, very knowing . . . who is intelligent, and enters deeply into things.” One can assume that the feminine **نقابة** (*naqâbat*) (= נִקְבָּה) would have meant “a woman of great knowledge or intellect.” Therefore, the MT נִקְבָּה could be hiding this *double entendre*: the “female” and the “intelligent (female),” who was identified in Jer 31:22 as the personified “Virtuous Israel.”

The antonym of נִקְבָּה “intelligent” in this context is the stem חַמֵּק which appears in Jer 31:22. In BDB (330) is defined as “to turn away” and “to turn hither and thither.” Bright (1965: 276) rendered it “dillydally.” But חַמֵּק also means “stupid, foolish” and is the cognate of Arabic **حمق** (*humaq*) “foolishness, or stupidity; i.e., unsoundness in the intellect or understanding” (Lane (1865: 645–646). Jeremiah frequently reminded the בְּתוּלָת יִשְׂרָאֵל that she had been stupid, as in 4:22 (כִּי אֹיְל עַמִּי), “for my people are foolish,” 5:21 (עַם סְכָל), “they have no sense”; 5:4 (הֵם נוֹאָלֶנֶה), “they are senseless”; 10:8 (יְבָעַרְוּ), “O foolish and senseless people”; 17:11 (וַיַּכְסְּלוּ), “they are stupid and foolish”; 32:21 (וְיִהְיֶה נָבָל), “he will become a fool”). The חַמֵּק of 32:21 can be added to Jeremiah’s synonyms for “foolish.”

Two aspects of the “new thing” created are (1) the end of the chaos coming from the stupidity of the “negligent daughter of Israel” (= חַמְקָה בַת יִשְׂרָאֵל), and (2) the emergence of an “intelligent, devoted Israel” (= בְּתוּלָה יִשְׂרָאֵל נָקִיבָה). *Yebamoth* 62b hints at נָקִיבָה “intelligence” with its statement that a good woman will be a protecting wall of wisdom. Failure to recognize the different meanings of the Hebrew נָקָבָה precludes the recognition of Jeremiah’s *double entendre*. It was not just a *female* who was to be involved; it was to be the *people of Israel*, who were designated by two female personifications: נָקִיבָה / נָקִיבָה (“Intelligent Woman” and בְּתוּלָה / בְּתוּלָה “Virtuous Woman.”)⁷

II. סבב.⁴³ It is important to note initially that Kennicott MS 589 reads חַסְוֹבָב for the MT, and with a ש one would expect an Arabic cognate with a ش (š) rather than a س (s).⁸ Given the ס / ش variable and the close relationship of ע and ל stems,⁹ شبه (šabaha) / شب (šabah) or شب (šabba) / سب (sabba) are possible cognates. Two of these four options are contextually relevant; namely, شبه (šabaha) and شب (šabba) (Lane 1872: 1499 and 1493).

The Arabic شبه (šabaha) means “to make it to be like it, or to resemble it,” with the noun شب (šabah) meaning “a likeness or resemblance.” This word is a synonym of مثل (maṭala) (Lane 1872: 1499–1500), which is the cognate of مثل (maṭal) which appears, in the opinion of this author, in Gen 3:16, “your desire shall be for your husband, and he will be like (ימיטל) you.” Because the idea of the *female* being just like the *male* was a part of the creation narratives in Genesis

(“bone of my bone, flesh of my flesh,” etc.), it is difficult to view gender equality as the “new thing” which God had created for בְּתוּלָת יִשְׂרָאֵל in the post-exilic period.¹⁰

Keeping in mind that the *people of Israel* were designated by female personifications (נִקְבָּה) and that *God* was generally designated by the masculine nouns / names (יְהוָה, אֱלֹהִים), the Arabic شب (šabba)—which deals with a particular male-female dynamic—is the most likely cognate of the סובב / شوبب in Jer 31:22.

In Arabic (šabba) in stems II and V means “to rhapsodize about a beloved woman and one’s relationship to her, to celebrate her in verse with amatory language, to compose love sonnets” (Lane 1872: 1493 and Wehr 527), with the phrase حسنة الشباب (ḥasanatu ḥaṣabābi) meaning “beautiful in the mention of women.”

In Jer 31:3–4 Yahweh affirmed in masculine amatory language:

וְאֶחֱבָתָךְ עֹזֶלֶם אֲהַבְתִּיךְ
עַל־כֵּן מִשְׁכְּתִיךְ חֶסֶד:
עוֹד אָבִנְךָ וְנִבְנִית
בְּתוּלָת יִשְׂרָאֵל
עוֹד תַּעֲדִי חֶפְיךְ
וְצִאת בְּמִחוּל מִשְׁחִיקִים:

I have loved thee with an everlasting love,
therefore I have continued my faithfulness to you.

Again I will build you, and you shall be built,
O Virgin \ Virtuous Israel!

Again you shall adorn yourself with timbrels,
and shall go forth in the dance of the merrymakers.

In Jer 31:22b, a gender reversal was announced. Having a *feminine* subject for סובב / שׁוֹבֵב, followed by a *masculine* object, would be analogous to saying “the *woman* impregnated the *man*,” which obviously does not fit the created order. Although commanded to love God with heart, soul, and strength, Israel became infatuated with other deities, despite Yahweh’s continuing affirmation of *His* love for *her*. But Yahweh had “created a new thing”: *Virtuous Lady Israel* would סובב / שׁוֹבֵב *Him*; i.e., Israel *herself*, personified as a נָקָבָה and a בְּתוּלָה, would now lovingly rhapsodize with sincerity about *her* God and *her* relationship with *Him*. Although Ezekiel (33:31) had complained, “for with their lips they show much love¹¹, (עַנְבִּים בְּפִיהֶם) but their heart is set on their gain,” Jeremiah affirmed it would now be different. In the new order Israel would, as suggested by the cognates بَلْلَبَبَة (= *batala*) and نَاقَبَة (*naqâbat*), intelligently (تَلِّي) devote herself to Yahweh exclusively, with sincerity and without hypocrisy. The amatory overtones suggested by סובב / שׁוֹבֵב are at least hinted at in the *Torah* translation, “a woman shall court a man” and the NAB “with devotion.”

III. The name גָּבְרִיאֵל “man /servant of God” and the epithet אל גָּבּוֹר “God almighty” set the basic parameters for interpreting גָּבָר in this passage. Because גָּבָר is coupled here with נָקָבָה, it is more likely to mean “man” than “servant.” Just as נָקָבָה here has multiple layers of meaning, as noted above, including “female,” and “intelligent,” as well as a personification of Israel along with בְּתוּלָת יִשְׂרָאֵל, it seems likely that גָּבָר could also have multiple layers of meaning.

גָּבֹר The word **גָּבֹר** could also be read as *scriptio defectiva* for and be an elliptical equivalent for **אֵל גָּבֹר**, as it appears in (1) Isa 10:21 “The remnant of Jacob shall return and trust in Almighty God”; (2) Jer 32:18 “O great and almighty God (**הָאֵל הַגָּדוֹל הַגָּבוֹר**) whose name is Yahweh of hosts”; and (3) Neh 9:1 “the great supreme and awesome God (**הָאֵל הַגָּדוֹל הַגָּבוֹר וְהַנּוֹרָא**).”

The citation of **אֵל גָּבוֹר** “God Almighty” in BDB (150) referenced **الجبار** (*aljabbâr*) “the Supreme Being,” which Lane (1865: 375) defined as “[A name of] God; so called because of his magnifying Himself [above every other being]”; and Wehr (1979: 133) defined as “almighty, omnipotent (God), . . . mighty, powerful.”¹² It has long been recognized that **جبير** (*jabar*) is related to Arabic **كَبِير** (*kabir*), used in the epithet **الله اكابر** (*allâh akbar*) “God is great.”¹³ The epithet appears in Job 35:6, **אֵל כָּבֵיר.** . . . **כָּבֵיר פֶּתַח לִבָּךְ** . . . “God is almighty . . . almighty in strength of understanding,” which comes as close as one can get to the ideas of “omnipotence” and “omniscience.” Virtuous (**בְּתוֹלָה**), intelligent (**נָקְבָּה**), Israel, in a reversal of roles, will rhapsodize lovingly (**שְׁבָבָה**) about the Almighty (**גָּבוֹר**).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The Septuagintal variants have been accounted for by recognizing that (1) **Τιμωροί** and **Τιγνῖμ** “signs/markers” were transliterated as τιμωρίαι and σιγνῖμα, and then modified to τιμωρίαν “vengeance” and Σιων “Zion”; (2) once an οι was misread as an ω, the οἴμους “road” became ὄμους

“shoulder”; (3) the Hebrew נִקְבָּה was misread as נִקְדָּה / נִקְזָה and was then translated twice as σωτηρίαν and σωτηρία “salvation”; (4) the καταφύτευσιν “plantation” retains a nuance of אַרְץ which dropped out of usage in post-Biblical Hebrew but its cognate has survived in Arabic; and (5) there is no need to emend אֱלֹהָה to אֱבָלָה to accommodate the Greek πενθοῦσα “grief” which reflects a definition of אֲהָל that also dropped out of usage in post-Biblical Hebrew although its cognate has also survived in Arabic.

Of the thirty-three lexemes in Jer 31:21–22, only five lack an Arabic cognate: ³⁸ **סְבֻבָּה**, ⁴³ **עֵירָה**, ¹⁷ **הַיִּה** / **הַוָּה**, ¹⁹ **שִׁיחָה**. Of the twenty-eight lexemes with Arabic cognates already cited in Hebrew lexicons, seven have *nuances* well attested in Arabic which—aside from Castell’s lexicon of 1669—have gone unnoticed. These include (1) בְּתֻולָה “un-equivocal devotion” or “virtuous” (which may or may not connote virginity); (2) חָנָן “grief-stricken”; (3) אֱלֹהָה “vehement grief” and “negligent, derelict”; (4) חָמֵק “foolish, stupid”; (5) נִקְבָּה “intelligence, intellect”; (6) שְׁבַב “to rhapsodize in amatory language”; and (7) גָּבָר “the Almighty.”

As is now evident, some of the difficulties in Jer 31:21–22 are not with the consonantal text but with standard Hebrew lexicons which have edited away much of the cognate information available in Castell’s 1669 lexicon. In the endnotes several other cognates are cited, including (1) صَهْيَة (*suhay*) “a tower on the top of a mountain,” the etymon of צִיּוֹן “Zion”; (2) جَم (*jam*) “very, many, abundant” for the מְגַם in Jer 31:19; and (3) وَلَاق (*walaqa*) “trace, footprint” (= يَلْكَ) being possibly the imperfect stem of הַלְךָ “to walk.”

The consonantal MT of Jer 31:21–22 has two problems, requiring only *minor* rather than *bold* emendations. First, תְשׁוּבָה should be read as תְסֻבָּה, following the reading of one manuscript cited by Kennicott. Secondly, the עֲרֵיךְ אֶלְהָ “these your cities” should be read as עִירֵךְ אֶלְהָ “your grief-stricken/negligent city” or as the plural (*scriptio defectiva*) עֲרֵיךְ אֶלְהָ “your grief-stricken/negligent cities.”

The enigmatic phrase נַקְבָּה תְסֻבָּבְ נָבָר simply means “the female enamors the male.” But sensitivity to Jeremiah’s use of *double entendre* and personification, suggests that the “Virgin/Virtuous” Israel will be the “intelligent (female)” (נַקְבָּה / נַקְבָּה) who will lovingly and eloquently wax poetic (תְשׁוּבָה) in praise of the Almighty (נָבָר). Jeremiah’s expectation was that Lady Israel—who was loved by her God with an everlasting love—would rapturously reciprocate vocally and unequivocally with paeans of love, thereby creating the role reversal between the Lover and the Beloved.

ADDENDUM

ARABIC COGNATES OF HEBREW WORDS IN JER 31:21–22 MT

MT		ARABIC
הַצִּיבֵּי	نصب	(<i>naṣaba</i>) ¹⁴
לְךָ	ل	(<i>la</i>) ¹⁵
צִינִים	صوان	(<i>sawwān</i>) ¹⁶
שְׁמֵרִי	شام	(<i>šām</i>) ¹⁷
תְּמִרּוֹרִים	تُومور	(<i>tu'mūr</i>) ¹⁸

שְׁתִי	لَبْكَ	لَب	— 19
מִסְלָה	مِسْلَه	مسيل	(<i>masîl</i>) ²¹
דֶּרֶךְ	دَرْكٌ	درك	(<i>daraka</i>) ²²
הַלְכָתִי	الْحَلْكَةِ	ولق	(<i>walaqa</i>) ²³
שׁוֹבֵבִי	شَوْبَبِي	ثاب	(<i>tâba</i>) ²⁴
בְּתוּלָה	بَتُولَة	بتولة	(<i>batûlat</i>) ²⁵
יִשְׂרָאֵל	يَسْرَائِيل	شري	(<i>šaraya</i>) ²⁶
"	"	الا	(<i>’ilâh</i>) ²⁷
שְׁבִי	شَبِي	ثاب	(<i>tâba</i>) ²⁴
אֵל	إِل	الي	(<i>’ilay</i>) ²⁸
עֲרֵיךְ	عَرِيقَه	أولي	— 29
אֱלֹהָה	إِلَهَه	أولي	(<i>’ulay</i>) ³⁰
עֵד	عَد	عدا	(<i>’adâ</i>) ³¹
מְתִי	مَتِي	متى	(<i>matay</i>) ³²
תְּתַחַטְמָקִין	تَتَحَطَّمَكِين	حمق	(<i>hamuqa</i>) ³³
(ה)(ל)	(ه)(ل)	ال	(<i>’al</i>) ³⁴
בָּת	بَت	بنت	(<i>bint</i>) ³⁵
שׁוֹבְבָה	شَوْبَبَه	ثاب	(<i>tâba</i>) ²⁴
כִּי	كَي	كي	(<i>kai</i>) ³⁶
בְּרִא	بَرِيَا	برا	(<i>bara’â</i>) ³⁷
יְהֹוָה	يَهُوه	— 38	
חֶדְשָׁה	خَدْشَه	حدث	(<i>hadatâ</i>) ³⁹
בָּ	ب	ب	(<i>bi</i>) ⁴⁰

אֶרֶץ	أرض	(‘ard) ⁴¹
נִקְבָּה	نقب	(naqb) ⁴²
תַּסְוִיבָב	———	——— ⁴³
גַּבֵּר	جبر	(jabr) ⁴⁴

NOTES

1. The Hebrew צִיּוֹן “road sign” and צִיּוֹן “Zion” are etymologically unrelated, as is clear from their cognates. The noun צִיּוֹן is the cognate of the Arabic صَوْلَانٌ (*sawwâlân*) “stones” and Syriac سَوَالَى (*s̄ewâlayâ*) “stones.” But the name צִיּוֹן, which appears with a medial נ in Syriac (سَهِيْعُون [sehyûn]) and in Arabic (صَاهِيْون [sahyûn]), is the cognate of Arabic: (1) صَاهِيْ (sâhây) “to ascend to the top of (a mountain)”; (2) صَاهَوَاتٍ (sahawât) “the upper most part of a mountain”; (3) صَاهِيْ (suhay) “a tower on the top of a mountain”; and (4) الصَّاهِيْهَا (as-suhâhâ) “the places in which water wells forth” (Lane 1872: 1739^b; Hava 408). The third Arabic cognate is a perfect match for the מִצְרָתָ צִיּוֹן “the mountain-top fortress” mentioned in I Chron 11:5; and the fourth cognate fits the “waters of Gihon” (II Chron 32:30) and “the waters of Zion” (Ezek 47).

For the loss of the medial ה in צִיּוֹן compare (1) and Arabic دَوْر (dawr) “longtime, age”; (2) لَهْتَ / لَوْت (dahr) “secrecy” (Exo 7:11); (3) مَهَرَ / مَوْرَ (mâhâr) “to circumcise”; (4) مَهَرَ / مَوْرَ (mâhâr) “to exchange”; (5) نَهَرَ / نَوْرَ (nahâr/nôr) “a light” and “to shine”; (6) رَهَتَ / رَوْزَ (rahât/rôz) “run” (Aramaic, Syriac); and (7) بَهَتَ / بَوْشَ (bahât/bôsh) “shame” (Aramaic). On the affirmative notion of צִיּוֹן, see GKC §85^u.

2. On Exo 19:1ff., see Schrenk 1976: 249.

3. Note I Sam 17:21 and II Sam 24:9 for יִשְׁרָאֵל as a feminine noun.
4. See McDaniel 1968: 29, 42. It seems apparent to me now that בָּדָר, was a *double entendre*: “alone/mourning.” Compare Jacob’s being called רָאשׁ הַגּוֹיִם “the chief of the nations” in Jer 31:7.
5. Reading גָּם as a cognate of Arabic جَمْ (jam) “many, abundant,” used adverbially (Lane 1865: 449).
6. This cognate goes unnoticed in BDB and KBS although it was noted by Castell (1669: 2394) and defined as “intellect, mens, ejusque acumen & perspicacia.”
7. On the collective personification of a nation, see GKC §122¹ and 122². Brown-Gutloff (1991: 186) suggested that נָקְבָּה referred to the “female side of God” (compassion, love and mercy), as opposed to גָּבָר which was associated with male military qualities.
8. Note, however, that שִׁתְיָו “winter” is a cognate of Arabic (šītā'), as noted in BDB (711) and in Lane (1867: 1504). See also Moscati 1964: 36–37. Jud 12:6 אָמַר־גָּנָא שְׁבָלָת וַיֹּאמֶר סְבָלָת (“please say ‘shibboleth’ and he said ‘sibboleth’ . . .”) well illustrates the š to s shift in a non-Arabic dialect.
9. See GKC §77^e. Note the following verbs: אָנַן / אָנַנָּה “to sigh”; כָּלַל / כָּלָה “to be quiet”; חָנַן / חָנָה “to incline”; דָמַם / דָמָה “to end”; קָלַל / קָלָה “to err”; שָׁחַח / שָׁחָה “to despise”; שָׁפַח / שָׁפָחָה “to bend down”; and שָׁסַח / שָׁסָחָה “to plunder.”
10. It is even more difficult to take seriously the varied interpretations that these three words spoke of coital positions or the physiology of sex.

11. The root עַגְבָּה (BDB 721) “inordinate affection, lust, paramour” has as cognate the Arabic عَجَب (‘ajiba) “he wondered at it, . . . he loved, or he liked.” (Lane 1874: 1956). The noun عَجَب (‘ujb) signifies “self-admiration, self-conceitedness resulting from stupidity or folly.”

12. Arabic جَبْر (*jabr*) may cover a number of homographs, otherwise one must give the stem a broad semantic range, including “a king, a servant or slave, and a young, or a courageous, man.” The noun جَبَّار (*jabbâr*) also means “one who magnifies himself, or behaves proudly . . . or insolently disdains the service of God.”

13. In the opinion of Lane this is an elliptical phrase meaning “God is the greatest great [being] : God is greater than every [other] great [being].” If not an elliptical phrase, أَكْبَر (‘akbar) “should have the article الْ (‘al), or be followed by a noun in the gen. case [or by the preposition مِن (*min*)” (Lane 1885: 2587a).

14. The verb “to set up, to erect” (BDB 662; Lane 1893: 2799).

15. The preposition “to” with suffix (BDB 510; Lane 1893: 3006).

16. The noun “road sign made of stones” and “flint-stone” (BDB 846; Lane 1872: 1739 for صُوَّة [ṣuwwat] and 4: 1751 for صَوْان [ṣawwân]).

17. The verb “to put, place, set” and “to insert, sheathe.” See BDB 962 and Lane 1872: 1634 شَامٌ / شَيْم (šayama/ šâma). The Sabean and Ethiopic cognates cited in BDB match the Hebrew meanings, whereas this Arabic cognate, “to hide, to conceal, to insert or to sheathe,” is quite remote.

18. “A sign consisting of a pile of stones” (BDB 1071; Lane 1863: 98^c and 97^b أَمْرَة [‘amarat] “stones” or “a heap of stones.”) (On the frequent elision of an נ in Hebrew, see GKC 23^f.) Ziegler (1957: 360) noted that Aquila translated Τεμνογρίθια παικτραμμους, as if

the root were מְרַד “bitter.” Carroll (1986: 601) and Holladay (1989: 194) followed Giesebricht (1907, cited in BDB: 1071) and Rudolph (1970 in BHS) in deriving this word from חִמֵּר “palm tree,” a cognate of Arabic تمْر (*tamr*) “fruit of the palm tree.”

19. BDB 1011. There is no known Arabic cognate for חַיָּשׁ.
20. The noun “heart, understanding, intelligence” (BDB 523; Lane 1885: 2643). The Arabic verb لَبَّ (labba) means “He was, or became possessed of لَبَّ (lubb), i.e., understanding, intellect, or intelligence. The feminine لَبَّةً (labbat) is the middle of the breast, used for the external area rather than the internal organ.
21. The noun “highway” and “a stream bed” (BDB 700; Lane 1872: 1486). The Arabic سَيْل (sayl) is a “torrent” or “flow of water” and the مَسِيل (masil) is the channel in which a torrent flows, a synonym of وَادِي (wadi) “valley, torrent-bed, any space between mountains or hills” (Lane 1874: 1893: 3051). In the Song of Deborah (Jud 5:19–21) reference was made to the Wady Kishon serving as a highway for Sisera’s chariots, which became a death-trap when the torrents flowed unexpectedly. Dry wadis and torrent-beds are still used for military activity and they now provide tourists with natural walkways for sightseeing.
22. The noun “road” and verb “to march, to overtake” (BDB 202; Lane 1867: 874).
23. The verb “to walk” and “to walk quickly” (BDB 229, 410; Hava 894). On the interchange of לָךְ and רָכַךְ compare (1) דָקַק and דָקַךְ “to crush” (2) רָכַק and רָכַךְ “to be tender, weak” and “to be thin, weak” (see Tregelles 1875: 378). The imperfect stem of הָלַךְ was probably יָלַךְ (see GKC §69^x). Gesenius followed Praetorius [ZAW ii 310 ff.] in disagreement with the usual explanation of a וְלַךְ stem—which is reinforced by the וְלַךְ = וְלַקְךְ as suggested by

cognate لق (walaqa). The Arabic verb هلاك (halaka) means “he perished, became non-existent or annihilated.” The noun هلاك (halaka) means “perdition” (Lane 1893: 3044). Lane did not cite لق (walaqa), but it must be remembered that the final volume of Lane’s lexicon is incomplete, having been published posthumously from his notes. Dozy (1927:842) cited لق (walaqa) “piste, trace, vestige,” a synonym of أثر (‘atara) “trace, footprint, footprint,” which is the cognate of Hebrew משָׁאֵל “to march forth” and Ugaritic ‘atr “to march” (Gordon 1965: 369, #424).

24. The verb “to return” (BDB 996; Lane 1863: 361 [﴿وَبَّ﴾]).
25. The noun “virgin” (BDB 143; Lane 1863: 150).
26. The verb “to contend or persist” (BDB 975; Lane 1872: 1545), noting especially form 3, هو يشاري (huwa yušārīhi) “he persisted in contention with him,” which fits perfectly with the narrative about the change of Jacob’s name in Gen 32:28, שְׁרִית עַמְּלֹה יְהִי “you persisted-in-contending with God.”
27. The noun or name “god, God” (BDB 41–42; Lane 1863: 82–83). In Arabic الله (Allah) is reserved for the only true God.
28. The preposition “to, unto, as far as” (BDB 39; Lane 1863: 85).
29. The noun “city” (BDB 746, noting the Sabean cognate, “a fortified height,” but there is no Arabic cognate of עיר).
30. The demonstrative pronoun “these” (BDB 41; Lane 1863: 86). Rudolph, in a note in BHS (1970), associated the Septuagint’s πενθοῦσα “mourner” with אֲבָלָה for the MT אלה.
31. The noun “perpetuity, distance, remoteness” (BDB 723; Lane 1874: 1978–1979), noting especially form 6, تَعَادِي (ta‘ādaya) “he, or it, was, or became, distant, remote, far off, or aloof” and the noun عدی (‘iday) “distance or remoteness.”

32. The interrogative adverb “when, until when” (BDB 607; Lane 1893: 3017).

33. The verb “to turn here and there” (BDB 330), noting that BDB has no cognate for חַמֵּק. KBS (330) cited the Arabic حَمْق (*hamiqā*) “to be foolish” and the Tigre (*homaqā*) “to be weak.” Arabic حَمْق (*humaq*) would be the antithesis of لُبָّ (*lubb*), i.e., *understanding, intellect, or intelligence*,” the cognate of לְבָב “heart” (see note 20).

34. The definite article and/or the vocative “O” (BDB 208 [I]; Lane 1863: 74). The original Hebrew definite article was probably הַלְּ, the לְ of which was assimilated to the initial consonant of the noun with compensatory lengthening of the noun’s initial consonant, except when the initial consonant was an אַ, חַ, נַ, שַׁ, or רַ. In Arabic the ل of أَل, though always written, assimilates to a following dental, sibilant or liquid, with compensatory lengthening of the initial consonant. The exceptions in Hebrew include הַלְוִי (= *al* + הַלְּ) and הַלְוִי (= *al* + הַלְּ), cited in BDB (229). The Masoretes failed to recognize הַלְּ as the definite article and treated the ה as the initial letter of the stem. (Compare BDB, where the ל of הַלְּ is identified as a separate demonstrative element which was inserted between the ה and the נ or ש.) For the presence of أَل (*al* = אַל “the”) in Hebrew, see BDB 38.

35. The noun “daughter” (BDB 123; Lane 1863: 261).

36. The conjunction “in order that” (BDB 471; Wehr 995).

37. The verb “to create, to form, to fashion” (BDB 135; Lane 1863: 197, both بَرِى and بَرَوْ).

38. The tetragrammaton (BDB 330). For the many varied etymologies proposed for the holy name, see G. H. Parke-Taylor, *Yahweh: The Divine Name in the Bible*. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1975. Whereas the Hebrew הָוֶה/הִיָּה means “to

become, to be,” with the *Hiph’il* meaning “to cause to be,” the Arabic verb هوى (*haway*) means “to fall, to drop” but the noun هوى (*haway*) signifies “love” and “beloved” (Lane 1893: 3046; Wehr 1219), suggesting two separate lexemes.

39. The adjective “new” and the noun “novelty, innovation” (BDB 294; Lane 1865: 527).
40. The preposition “in” (BDB 88; Lane 1863: 141).
41. The noun “earth” (BDB 75; Lane 1863: 47–49).
42. The verb “to perforate” and the nouns “hole, female, mind” (BDB 666; Lane 1893: 2834–2835).
43. The verb “to surround” (BDB 685). The Arabic words cited in BDB under כָּבֵד which begin with a س (s), meaning “rope, lock of hair” are not cognates. KBS has no Arabic cognates for כָּבֵד.
44. The nouns “man, a young man” and “king, slave, servant” (BDB 149; Lane 1865: 374–375; Castell 479). For the Akkadian cognate *gubburu* “to overpower,” see *CAD*, Volume G, 118 and KBS 176.

XX
EZEKIEL WENT
“FLYING OFF IN CIRCLES OF WIND”

EZEKIEL 3:14

וְרוּחַ נִשְׁאַתִּנִי וַתִּקְתַּנִּי וְאָלֵךְ מֶרֶב חַמֵּת רֹוחִי
וַיַּדְרִיחָה עַלִי חֹזֶקה

So the spirit lifted me up, and took me away,
and I went *in bitterness*, in the *heat of my spirit*;
but the hand of the LORD was strong upon me.
(KJV)

The spirit which had lifted me up seized me,
and I went off *spiritually stirred*,
while the hand of the LORD rested heavily upon me.
(NAB)

A wind lifted me and took me,
and I went, bitter, my spirit raging,
overpowered by the hand of YHWH.
(Greenberg)

καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐξῆρέν με καὶ ἀνέλαβέν με
καὶ ἐπορεύθην ἐν ὄρμῃ τοῦ πνεύματός μου
καὶ χεὶρ κυρίου ἐγένετο ἐπ’ ἐμὲ κραταιά
(Septuagint)

Then the blast lifted me up and bore me aloft
and I went by the impulse of my own spirit,
and the hand of the Lord upon me was strong.
(Thompson’s Septuagint)

COMMENTARY

The MT מַר “in bitterness” has generally been interpreted as the equivalent of the בְּמִרְנֶפֶשׁ “bitterness of soul” in Ezek 27:31.¹ However, it is probably from the stem (BDB 597) which appears in Job 39:18, פָּעַת בְּמֹרֶם חֲמֵרִיא, “when it spreads its plumes aloft (NRS),” as the verb of motion for the ostrich. It would be the cognate of Arabic مَرِي (maraya) used for the movement of the wind and clouds (Lane: 1893: 3019). This meaning has the support of the Septuagint which has ὄρμη “rapid motion forwards, onset, assault, impulse” (Liddell and Scott: 1253).²

The MT בְּחֻמֶת רַוחַי, “in the heat of my spirit,” has been considered similar to נִזְאַת חֻמֶת יְהוָה מִלְאַתִי, “I am full of the wrath of Yahweh,” in Jer 6:11. However, it is more likely the cognate of Arabic حَام / حَوْم (ḥām / ḥāma) used of the motion of birds flying or hovering in circles” (Lane 1865: 678), rather than from חָמָה “to be hot” (BDB 404; Jastrow 475).³

If the רַוחַי of בְּחֻמֶת were dropped as a dittography of the following נִיד of the נִיד, the phrase would mean, “I went flying off in circles of wind.” Unless Ezekiel suffered from severe acrophobia, it is unlikely that he would have “bitterness of soul” when accompanying his spiritual host to old *Tel Abīb*. Far from being depressed, as suggested by the KJV and the RSV, or “spiritually stirred” as proposed by the NAB, the text probably speaks of the physical means of transport (even if only in a vision or in the imagination) which carried him to the exiles along the Chebar River. Whatever acrophobia he may have had, his fear (*not* depression) was allayed because, while air-borne, he was firmly gripped by the hand of God.

NOTES

1. See Cooke 1936: 42.
2. Zimmerli (1979: 94, 139) commented

What is described by the reference to the prophet's being lifted up and carried off by the spirit is his personal experience of returning home with his spirit aglow under the pressure of Yahweh's hand upon him. The objective language describes a subjective experience. A later interpreter has added to this the explanatory words "in bitterness."

Zimmerli offered no suggestion as to why a later interpreter would gloss "his spirit aglow" as "in bitterness." Although מָרֵא is not reflected in the Septuagint, it can be retained—*lectio difficilior*—as original. The use of cognates makes its interpretation less difficult. On the loss of the נ of מָרָא, see GKC § 22^f.

3. The noun حוּם (*hûm*) is also applied to wine, not for the warmth it gives to the body, but for the sensation of circular motion and dizziness it produces in the head.

XXI

**EZEKIEL'S CRITICISM
OF THE TRIAGE IN JERUSALEM**

EZEKIEL 13:18

וְאָמַרְתָּ כִּי־אָמַרَ אֱלֹהִים יְהוָה
הֵוָי לְמַתְפָּרוֹת בְּסֶתֶות עַל כָּל־אֶצְבָּעִים יְדֵי
וְעַשׂוֹת הַמְּסֻפְחוֹת עַל־רַאשֵּׁם כָּל־קֹמֶם לְצֹדֶק נְפָשׁוֹת
הַנְּפָשׁוֹת תִּצְדַּךְ נָהָר לְעַמִּי וְנְפָשׁוֹת לְכָנָה תִּחְיִינָה:

Thus says the Lord GOD:
Woe to the women who sew magic bands upon all wrists,
and make veils for the heads of persons of every stature,
in the hunt for souls!
Will you hunt down souls belonging to my people,
and keep other souls alive for your profit?

καὶ ἐρεῖς τάδε λέγει κύριος
οὐαὶ ταῖς συρραπτούσαις προσκεφάλαιαι
ἐπὶ πάντα ἀγκῶνα χειρὸς
καὶ ποιούσαις ἐπιβόλαιαι
ἐπὶ πᾶσαν κεφαλὴν πάσης ἡλικίας
τοῦ διαστρέφειν ψυχάς
αἱ ψυχαὶ διεστράφησαν τοῦ λαοῦ μου
καὶ ψυχὰς περιεποιοῦντο

And thou shalt say, Thus saith the Lord,
Woe to the *women* that sew pillows under every elbow,
and make kerchiefs on the head of every age
to pervert souls!
The souls of my people are perverted,
and they have saved souls alive.

INTRODUCTION

The complexities in Ezek 13:17–23 has led to a great deal of speculation about witches and sorceresses in Jerusalem before the destruction of the city in 586 B.C.E. Cooke (1936: 144–150), appealed to Jer 7:18 and 44:17, 19, which refer to women making offerings and baking cakes for the queen of heaven, and concluded that the practice of magic by women was rife not only in ancient society in general but in Jerusalem in Ezekiel's day. He repeated the tradition originating in Origen's Hexapla (οὐαὶ ταῖς ποιούσαις φυλακτήρια “woe to those making phylacteries”) and Ephrem Syrus' statement, “these are like amulets which they (the women) bind upon their arms, and bring forth an oracle for those who enquire of them from their arms, like magicians and soothsayers who utter cries.” But, in disagreement with Ephrem Syrus' suggestion that the amulets were on the arms of the sorceresses, Cooke thought the amulets were on the arms of those consulting the sorceresses as an act of sympathetic magic, “with the idea, we may imagine, of fastening the magic influence upon them, or of symbolizing the power to bind and loose which the sorceress claimed.” As Cooke admitted, this is exegesis by imagination.

Eichrodt (1970: 169–170) who thought that verses 17–23 “are concerned with a few women who deal in magic on the sly for the benefit of individual clients who pay in cash for their services”—admitted that such phenomenon is not mentioned elsewhere in the Old Testament. Eichrodt appealed to the Jewish use of phylacteries and to Frazer's references in *The Golden Bough* about magical practices among primitive peoples, “according to which ill luck is warded off by tying strips of palm-leaf, bark, or wool round the joints, or diseases are cured by tying knotted thread to the groin, head, neck or limbs of the patient.”

Zimmerli (1979: 296–298) commenced his interpretation of Ezek 13:17–23 with the observation, “. . . here the striking thing is the novelty of the content and the formulations.” Like other commentators, Zimmerli acknowledged that (1) “The twofold oracle of vv 17ff undeniably enters into a sphere of minor mantic acts and magic—a sphere which can only be put quite improperly under the catchword ‘prophetic,’” and (2) “An exactly relevant explanation of Ezekiel’s statements, however, has so far not been advanced.” Greenberg (1983: 239) concisely concurred with Zimmerli, stating, “The practices and terms of these two verses [13:18–19] are obscure: we have interpreted them as fortune-telling.” Block (1997: 414) similarly noted, “It is impossible to arrive at a clear understanding of the women’s methods because of the obscurity of the expressions used.”

Moreover, parts of the oracle are suspect. Toy (1899: 62) stated, “The expression *הַנֶּפֶשׁוֹת הַצּוֹדְךָנָה לְעַמִּי וּנֶפֶשׁוֹת* [נֶפֶשׁוֹת in 13:18] is better omitted as in its present form [it is] unintelligible.” Cooke (1936:148) conjectured that 13:22–23 (which repeat what was said already in 13:17–21) were later additions, like those found in 5:16–17, rather than being summary statements from Ezekiel himself.

Without a doubt, the text of this part of the oracle in 13: 17–23 has suffered serious dislocations in transmission. Failure to recognize the dislocations contributed to the guess work which appealed to anthropological studies of magic and sorcery in primitive societies for clues to the meaning of the oracle. A philological inquiry focusing on insights from Arabic cognates has proven to be very beneficial. The oracles in 13:17–23 addresses two distinctly different groups of women. The first oracle addressed women who had prophesied falsely, and the second oracle spoke of those women who, in doing

triage and giving first-aid, favored sinners rather than the saints whom God intended to revive.

ARABIC COGNATES

The Hebrew קְשָׁתִים occurs only here and has been derived from קְשַׁת stem II “to bind,” a cognate of Akkadian *kasû* “to fetter, to take captive,” with the noun meaning “band, fillet.” In the Syro-Hexapla Κεντρόν, as noted above, was rendered φυλακτήρια. It was assumed to be some type of magical amulet or charm, even though in post-Biblical Hebrew it means a “cushion” or “pillow” (BDB 493; KB³ 449). But the cognate of קְשָׁת is more likely to be the Arabic كَسَاء (*kisâ'*) with the plural أَكْسِيَّة (^o*aksiyat*) “a simple oblong piece of cloth, a wrapper (garment) of a single piece” (Lane 1893: 3000; KBS II: 489). The Arabic كَسَاء (*kisâ'*) is probably the etymon of the English “gauze” and French *gaze*. (The reduplication of the ק in the plural of קְשָׁת, unlike the Arabic plural أَكْسِيَّة [^o*aksiyat*]), is like the plural of קֶשֶׁת “arrow.”

The MT הַמִּסְפְּחֹות, has been variously translated: ἐπιβόλαια “wrappers” (Septuagint), “kerchiefs” (ASV), “veils” (RSV), and “rags” (Greenberg 1983: 239). The Arabic cognate سَفِيج (*safîh*) indicates “a thick, coarse [garment or piece of cloth] called كَسَاء (*kisâ'*),” which is the cognate of קְשָׁת discussed above. It is obvious that הַמִּסְפְּחֹה “a (gauze) bandage” and קְשָׁת “a (gauze) dressing” are synonyms (KBS II: 607).

In the context of Ezekiel’s visions of blood and guts (5: 12, 16; 6:3–8, 11; 9:5–6; 21:1–18), these coarse cloths were unlikely to refer to magical veils or sheath dresses. They were

the gauze cloths (just like the σπαργυνῶ “swaddling clothes” in Luke 2:7) for the “first-aid” given by Jerusalem’s ladies. Even though gauze bandages and compresses may “cushion” wounds and fractures, the translation of מִסְפְּחוֹת as “cushions” creates a false image of women comfortably reclining or resting their elbows, arms, and heads on pillows. The traditional interpretations suggesting trivial magical rituals are equally inaccurate. Ezekiel intended to create the word picture of women desperately bandaging Jerusalem’s wounded sinners.

The MT פָּלַאצְלֵי יָדִי became in the Septuagint πάντα ἀγκῶνα χειρὸς “every elbow of the hand,” and has been variously rendered in English: “all armholes” (KJV), “all elbows” (ASV), “all wrists” (RSV), and “joints of every arm” (Greenberg 1983: 233). Zimmerli (1979: 288), like Cooke (1936: 149), thought that יָדִי was an error for יָד or יָדִים; whereas Greenberg (1983: 239) was content to read it as one of the anomalous plurals collected by Kimḥi.

However, the MT יָדִי should be restored to يָدֵי, a *Qal* passive participle (like רָאשֵׁי “proper”) meaning “maimed” from يָדָה, the denominative of יָד and the equivalent of Arabic (yaday / yadī) “to wound anyone on the hand, to maim anyone’s hand” (Hava 1915: 901) or وَدَى (wadaya) “to cut off, to destroy” (Lane 1893: 3051; Wehr 12:41). (The denominative يَدَه “to maim” [“to de-hand”] would be analogous to the English noun/verb “gut.”). Like the Arabic (yad), which can signify the arm from the shoulder-joint to the extremities of the fingers (Lane 1893: 3093), Hebrew יָד could indicate more than the hand—just as רָגֵל “foot” may indicate the leg from the tip of the toes to the groin. To focus

upon the hand or wrist or knuckles is too narrow a focus for the context of this verse.

Since **אַצְלֹות יָדִיךְ** in Jer 38:12 means “your arm-joints” or “your armpits,” the **אַצְיָלִי יָדִיךְ** in 13:18, could also mean arm-joints (the wrist or the elbow) rather than finger joints or knuckles. The Arabic (*waṣala*) “to join” (Lane 3054–3055) is widely recognized as the cognate of **אַצְיָל**. Lane (1877: 2349) noted the use of the noun **وَصْل** (*wuṣl* or *wiṣl*) “limb” in defining **فَخْذ** (*fahid*) “thigh” as the **وَصْل** (*wuṣl*) between the hip and the shank. It seems very likely that **אַצְיָל** here in 13:18 has the same meaning, referring not to the joints but to the limbs.

Greenberg (1983: 240) considered MT **חַצּוֹדֶנָה** and **צָדֵד** in 13:18 to be intensive forms of **צָוד** “to hunt down.” However, in this oracle **צָוד** “to prey upon” is found only in **צָדֵד** of 13:20. The **חַצּוֹדֶנָה** of 13:18 is from **מִצְרָדֹת**, the cognate of Arabic **صَدَّ** (*sadda*) “to shun, to alienate, to turn away” (Lane 1872: 1658; BDB 841). The **צָזֵד** in 13:18, however, should be corrected to **צָזֵיד** and read as the cognate of Arabic **صَدِيد** (*sadid*) “ichor, i.e. thin water [or watery humour] of a wound, mixed [or tinged] with blood or the pus from such a wound.”¹ Reading **צָזֵיד** for **צָזֵד** is the key for reordering the words of the MT (with support from the versions) from “head of every height to hunt souls” to “every oozing head, to revive the ones breathing.”

The fall of Jerusalem was marked by a large number of those who were killed or wounded. Some of those wounded apparently received first-aid in which compresses, bandages,

and swaddling cloths were used to stop the loss of blood or cleanse the wounds which could have been inflicted or infected from head to toe.

The MT לְפָרָחֹת in 13:20a and the לְפָרָחַת in 13:20b are very problematic.² Zimmerli (1979: 289) summarized the evidence from the versions, noting that לְפָרָחֹת in 13:20a is not reflected in the Septuagint, although the לְפָרָחַת in 13:20b appears as διασκορπισμόν “scattering,” reflecting a confusion of פָרָח with either פָרָד or פָרָץ). It was read as the Aramaic פָרָח “to fly” by the Vulgate (*volandum*) and Symmachus (ἀναπετσθῆναι), which is followed by Greenberg (1983: 240) who translated לְפָרָחַת “like birds.”

Theodotian rendered it ἔκλυσιν “release, deliverance,” which preserves a meaning of פָרָח that finds support from the Arabic فَرَج (faraja) “mettre un prisonnier en liberté, délivrer” (Dozy II: 247) and occurring in the phrase بعد القارعات فرج (ba^cdi^clqā^cri^cā^cti furūju) “after (sudden) catastrophe/calamity [there will be] release from suffering”³ (Lane 1877: 2360; Wehr 822, 888). Theodotian’s “release” fits the context perfectly and has the support of other פָרָח / פָרָג equivalents.

RECONSTRUCTED TEXT

Once it is recognized that Ezekiel had a larger vocabulary than that recognized by the Septuagint translators or recent lexicographers, two independent oracles addressed to “the daughters of your people” can be found in Ezekiel 13:17–23. The first oracle (13:17, 18a, and 22–23) was addressed to the prophetesses, and it is much shorter than the oracle against the prophets (13:1–16). The second oracle (13:18b–21) insinuated

itself into the middle of the first oracle, perhaps due to 13:17a (“and you, son of man, set your face unto the daughters of your people”) being a double duty introduction to both oracles. The reconstructed oracles read as follows, with my proposed translations in *italics* and feminine forms in **bold**:

Oracle I.

- 13:17 And you, son of man, set your face unto the **daughters** of your people, **the ones prophesying** from their [town] heart, and prophesy against **them**
 13:18a and say, “Thus says the Lord YHWH, ‘Woe!
 13:22 Because of falsely intimidating the heart of the righteous (though I have not disheartened him) and strengthening the hands of the wicked (without his turning from his evil way) to keep him alive,
 13:23 **you**, therefore, shall never again envision false [prophecies] nor practice divination. I will save my people from **your** hand; then **you** will acknowledge that I am YHWH.

Oracle II.

- 13:18b *הוּא לִמְחַפֵּרֹת בָּסְתּוֹת עַל כָּל־אֲשֵׁלִי יְדֵי
 וְעַשּׂות הַמְּסֻפְחוֹת עַל־פָּלָרָאשׁ צָודֶךָ
 לְקֹמֶה נְפָשֹׁות:*
*חַצּוֹדְנָה לְעַמִּי
 לְהַמִּית נְפָשֹׁות אֲשֶׁר לְאַתְּמוֹתָנָה*
 13:19c *וּנְפָשֹׁות לְכָנָה תְּחִיָּנָה
 בְּשֻׁעַלְיָ שָׁעָרִים וּבְפַתּוֹתִי לְחַם*
 13:18c
 13:19b

13:19d **וְלֹחֵיָה נֶפֶשׁוֹת אֲשֶׁר לְאַתְּחִינָה
וַתְּחַלֵּלָה אֹתְךָ אֶל-עַמִּי**

Woe to the **ones tying⁴ bandages**
on every *maimed limb⁵*

and **placing compresses** upon every *oozing head*,
to revive those **breathing**.

They shun⁶ my very⁷ own people [still] breathing,⁸
To let die those **breathing** who ought not to have died.
But those of their own [still] **breathing**, they restore to life.
—with handfuls of barley and with morsels of bread—
keeping alive the **ones breathing who ought not to be alive**,
they have undermined my warning⁹ unto my people.”

13:20a **לְכָן כִּי-אָמַר אָדָנִי יְהוָה
הָנָנוּ אֶל-כְּפֹתָחִינָה**

וְקָרְעַתִּי אֶתְכֶם מֵעַל זָרוּעָתֵיכֶם

13:21a **וְקָרְעַתִּי אֶת-מִסְפְּחָתֵיכֶם**

13:20b **אֶת-הַנֶּפֶשׁוֹת אֲשֶׁר אֲתָּה נָמְצָדֹת
שָׁם (שָׁוֹם) לְפָרָחוֹת**

13:21b **וְהִצְלַתִּי אֶת-עַמִּי מִידְקָן**

**וְלֹא-יָהִי עוֹד בַּיּוֹכָן לְמִצְרָה
וַיַּדְעַתִּי כִּי-אָנִי יְהוָה:**

Therefore, thus said the Lord YHWH,
“Behold, I am against **your bandages¹⁰**
I will rip them off from upon your arms;
and I will rip off your *compresses*.

The **ones [still] breathing**
whom **you** shunned, [I] designate¹¹
[to be] **the ones-set-free**.

And I will deliver my people from **your** hands.
 They shall no longer be prey¹² in **your** hands.
 Then **you** will acknowledge that I am YHWH.”

MISPLACED WORDS AND DOUBLETS

The phrase “בְּכָזְבֵיכֶם לְעַמִּי שָׁמְעֵי בָּזֵב” (13:19) needs to be (1) moved to 13:8, *after* “לֹכֶן כִּי אָמַר אֱלֹהִים יְהוָה יְשֻׁעָנָה דְּבָרָכֶם שָׁוֹא,” so that the text would have read, “therefore, thus says the Lord God: ‘Because you have uttered delusions with your lie to my people who obey a liar,’ or (2) inserted *between* the redundant “וְיִשְׁעָנָה” and “וְיִשְׁעַנָּה” in 13:10, so that it reads:

יִשְׁעָנָה בְּכָזְבֵיכֶם לְעַמִּי שָׁמְעֵי בָּזֵב
 וְיִשְׁעַנָּה הָטָעוֹ אֲתֶּה עַמִּי לְאָמֵר שָׁלוֹם וְאֵין שָׁלוֹם
 because with your lie to my people—who obey a liar
 —and because they misled my people saying
 “peace” when there is no peace.¹³

13:20b

וְשָׁלַחֲתִי לְפָרָחָת
 אֲתֶּה נְפָשׁוֹת אֲתֶּה נְפָשִׁים
 אֲשֶׁר אַתָּם מִצְדָּדוֹת

and I will let go to [become] the *ones-set-free*
 —the breathing [women]
 breathing [men]—
 whom you have shunned.

These nine Hebrew words in 13:20b are a doublet of what was stated immediately preceding in 13:20a, as rearranged:

אַתְּ הַנֶּפֶשׁוֹת אֲשֶׁר אָתָּה מִצְדְּרוֹת שֵׁם¹¹ לְפָרְחוֹת

The ones breathing, whom you shunned,
[I] appoint¹¹ to [be] the *ones-set-free*.

The anomalous plural **נֶפֶשׁים** of “person,” which some would emend to **חַפְשִׁים** “freemen,” simply needs to be repointed. The MT **נֶפֶשׁוֹת** and **נֶפֶשׁים** are plural participles of the denominative **נֶפֶשׁ** “to breathe,” and should be repointed **נֶפֶשׁוֹת** and **נֶפֶשׁים**. Since **נֶפֶשׁוֹת** can mean either “breathing women” or “people, living beings” (i.e., gender inclusive) the **נֶפֶשׁים** “breathing men” makes it quite clear that God intended for men and women to be revived and set free.

CONCLUSION

Early in the transmission of the Hebrew text a number of passages became disjointed, with either individual verses or whole paragraphs becoming disconnected, resulting in a loss of unity and coherence in the narratives as they now read.¹⁴ Making the interpretation all the more difficult are the limitations in Hebrew orthography and lexicography. Homographs are the bane of the interpreter, with the difficulty compounded when the lexical citations of cognates is limited.

A fresh examination of Arabic cognates uncovered nuances which were contextually appropriate for Ezekiel 13, as well as the recovery of several words which survived in Arabic but became lost in post-exilic Hebrew. Recovery of these words and nuances permit Ezek 13:17–23 to be rearranged into two separate oracles: Oracle I addressed the prophetesses, and Oracle II focused on ladies doing triage and giving first-aid to sinners rather than to saints. Neither oracle deals with sorceresses, magic, or mantic activities.

NOTES

1. Although صد (sadda) “to reject” is cited in KBS (III: 1000), there is no reference to صلید (sadiid) “ichor.” In the *Qur'an* (*Sura* 14:19), صلید (sadiid) is used for what flows from the skins of the inmates of hell, or what flows from their insides, i.e., the exudation of blood and serum from a wound.
2. If the Targum's אֲבִידוֹתָא / אֲבִידוֹתָא “lost things” were read as the cognate of Arabic أَبْدَدَة (‘ābidat) “a deed or calamity ever to be remembered by reason of its extraordinary grievousness” (Lane: 5), it could well reflect the MT פְּרַח as the cognate of Arabic بَرْح (barh) “affliction, severe punishment” (Lane: 181, 183). For other examples of the ב / בְ variation, see Jastrow 187 and 1689, חַבֵּר / חַבְּרֵר “to sew” and הַפְּקִיר / הַבְּקִיר “to declare (free).”
3. On the interchange of ג and ח in Arabic, Hebrew and Syriac, note the following variants: (1) Arabic فَرْعُوج (farūj) “chick, young chicken” and فَرْخ (farh) “young bird, chicken” (Lane 1877: 2360 and 2362; Wehr 822–823), (2) Hebrew אֲפָרָח “young bird” and פְּרַנְגִית “young bird, chicken” (Jastrow 1214, 1225), (3) Syriac پَرِنْجَة (parūgā) “chick, bird” and پَرِنْجَه (parūhe) “birds” (J. Payne Smith 458). The Arabic فَرْجَات (furjat) and مُفْرَحَات (mufrihāt) / فَرَح (farah) all mean “fête, partie de plaisir, rejouissances publiques” (Dozy 247–248). In KBS (III: 966) פְּרַג “poultry” is cited, but there is no reference to the פְּרַנְג variants.
4. The feminine plural participle, מַתְּפִירֹות, is from חַפֵּר which occurs elsewhere only in Gen 3:7. Ecc 3:6, and Job 16:15. The meaning cited in BDB (1074) is “to sew.” However, Jastrow (1903: 1689) defined it “to join; to sew, to mend,” which fits the context better here and in Job 16:15. Although Pope (1965: 115) translated the latter, “Sack I have sewed on my hide,” this hardly

does justice to the context which reads, “He [God] stabs my vitals without pity, Pours out my guts on the ground.” (Similar words about abdominal wounds appear in Lam 2:11 and in 2 Sam 20:10–11.) Two observations are in order. First, Job is not putting on שְׁמִלָּה “sackcloth” to mourn his death. He is painfully alive. The sackcloth serves a purpose other than that of mourning attire. With his bowels exposed (literally, the gall bladder) the sackcloth was used for self-administered first-aid. It seems clear that the sackcloth “dress” should be a sackcloth “dressing,” i.e., a first-aid dressing of coarsely woven cloth. Secondly, the sackcloth was not sewed *to* or *onto* Job’s skin in some kind of surgical procedure. The cloth was applied *to, upon, or over* (על) Job’s “wounded skin” (גַּלְדֵּן). The noun גַּלְדֵּן appears only in Job 16:15, but the meaning is clear from the Arabic (*jildun / jalada*) used for the noun “skin” and as a verb “to beat, hurt, or flog the skin” (Lane 1865: 442–443) or post-Biblical Hebrew where גַּלְדֵּן may also indicate the scab of a wound (Jastrow 1903: 245). One must conclude that תִּפְרֶת was a term appropriate for a seamstress, a tailor, or one giving first-aid by tying on bandages, compresses or dressings.

5. Hebrew uses several expressions to depict the earth’s extremities, including יְרֵכֹת הָאָרֶץ “the thighs of the earth” (Jer 6:22, 25:32, etc.), בְּנֵפּוֹת הָאָרֶץ “the wings of the earth” (Job 37:3, 38:12, etc.), and מִקְצֹות הָאָרֶץ וּמִאֲצִילָה “from the ends of the earth and her limbs” (Isa 41:9). It is the usage of אֲצִיל in the last expression which is important for understanding אֲצִיל in this verse. The Arabic *وصل* (*wasala*) “to join” (Lane 3054–3055) is commonly recognized as the cognate of אֲצִיל (KBS I: 82–83). Lane (1877: 2349) noted the use of the noun *وصل* (*wuṣl* or *wiṣl*) “limb” in defining the thigh (*fahlg*) as the *وصل* (*wuṣl*) between the hip and the shank. It seems very likely that אֲצִיל in

Ezek 13:18 has the same meaning, referring not to the joints but to the limbs.

6. MT **חַצְוֹדָנָה** is the cognate of Arabic **صَدَّا** (*sadda*) “to turn away, to shun” and **صَادٌ** (*sadd*), which corresponds to Hebrew **צָדֵד** “side” (BDB 841; KBS III: 1000; and Lane 1872:1658).

7. Reading the **ל** here as an emphatic rather than the preposition. For other examples of the emphatic **ל** see Richardson (1966: 89), note McDaniel (1968) 206–208; Bloomerde (1969) 31; Dahood (1975) 341–342); Whitley (1975) 202–204; and Huehnergard (1983) 569–593, especially 591.

8. Compare the Arabic **نَفْس** (*nafas*) in form V “to breathe, to inhale and exhale” (Wehr 1155).

9. Reading **אֲוֹתִי** “my sign” for the **אֲחִי** “me.” Like the Arabic **أَيَّاتٍ** (“ayat) “a sign, an example, or a warning” (Lane 1863: 135), as in the *Qur'an* (*Sura 12:7*), “Verily, in Joseph and his brothers are signs for the inquiring.” Hebrew **אֲוֹתָן** need not mean a “miracle.” In Deut 11:3, **אֲוֹתָן** was used for destructive acts of God.

10. The noun “bandages” is probably a metonymy for the triage and for the first-aid. On the use of **לְאַנְךָ** with the sense of **לְעַלְתָּה**, see BDB 41.

11. Reading **שָׁמַע** as **שָׁמַע = שָׁמַע** “to mark, to designate” (BDB 962–964; Jastrow 965; 1535; J. Payne Smith 366). For the use of the infinitive as a substitute for a finite verb, see GKC 113^y.

12. There is general agreement that **מַצְאֵד** “prey” is related to **צָוָד** “to hunt” (KBS II: 1000–1001).

13. The shift from second person to third person occurs frequently in this oracle. The second person plural occurs in verses 4, 5, 7 and 8; the third person plural occurs in verses 2, 3, 6, 9, 10, and 16.

14. See the next chapter on Ezekiel 28 for a study which identified two oracles in Zech 4, one of which had insinuated itself into the middle the second oracle, with Oracle I being Zech 4:1–6a and 4:10b–14, and Oracle II being 3:6–10 and 4:6b–10a. In Isaiah an oracle about weird cultic activities is scattered in three sections, namely, Isa 65:3b–5; 65:17–18a; and 66:24. Ezekiel 28 requires fifteen adjustments to restore the oracle to a logical sequence.

XXII

THE KING OF TYRE IN EZEKIEL 28

INTRODUCTION

Early in the transmission of the Hebrew text a number of passages became disjointed, with either individual verses or whole paragraphs becoming disconnected, resulting in a loss of unity and coherence in the narratives as they now read. For example, Zech 4:1–6a and 4:10b–14 make up the following literary unit:

And the angel who talked with me came again, and waked me, like a man that is wakened out of his sleep. And he said to me, “what do you see?” I said, “I see, and behold, a lampstand all of gold, with a bowl on the top of it, and seven lamps on it, with seven lips on each of the lamps which are on the top of it. And there are two olive trees by it, one on the right of the bowl and the other on its left.” And I said to the angel who talked with me, “What are these, my lord?” Then the angel who talked with me answered me, “Do you not know what these are?” I said, “No, my lord.” Then he said to me, * “These seven are the eyes of Yahweh, which range through the whole earth.” Then I said to him, “What are these two olive trees on the right and the left of the lampstand?” And a second time I said to him, “What are these two branches of the olive trees, which are beside the two golden pipes from which the oil is poured out?” He said to me, “Do you not know what these are?” I said, “No, my lord.” Then he said, “These are the two anointed who stand by the Lord of the whole earth.”

But as the Hebrew text now stands, verses 4:6b–4:10 insinuated themselves right in the middle of the narrative where an asterisk has been placed. Verses 4:6b–10 actually conclude

the narrative beginning with Zech 3:6–10. The unity of this narrative becomes transparent once the two disparate sections speaking of Joshua and Zerubbabel are rejoined:

And the angel of the Yahweh enjoined Joshua, “Thus says Yahweh of hosts: If you will walk in my ways and keep my charge, then you shall rule my house and have charge of my courts, and I will give you the right of access among those who are standing here. Hear now, O Joshua the high priest, you and your friends who sit before you, for they are men of good omen: behold, I will bring my servant the Branch. For behold, upon the stone which I have set before Joshua, upon a single stone with seven facets, I will engrave its inscription, says Yahweh of hosts, and I will remove the guilt of this land in a single day. In that day, says Yahweh of hosts, every one of you will invite his neighbor under his vine and under his fig tree.” * “This is the word of Yahweh to Zerubbabel: “Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, says Yahweh of hosts. What are you, O great mountain? Before Zerubbabel you shall become a plain; and he shall bring forward the top stone amid shouts of ‘Grace, grace to it!’” Moreover the word of Yahweh came to me, saying, “The hands of Zerubbabel have laid the foundation of this house; his hands shall also complete it. Then you will know that Yahweh of hosts has sent me to you. For whoever has despised the day of small things shall rejoice, and shall see the plummet in the hand of Zerubbabel.”

Another example of the obvious dislocation of verses involves Isa 66:24, which is totally unrelated to the preceding verses dealing with the new heavens and the new earth, which make a fitting conclusion to the book of Isaiah—whereas 66:24 is a very awkward ending for the chapter and for the book. However, Isa 66:24 can be joined to Isa 65:1–7 and 66:17 to form a literary unit which speaks of the weird cultic activities of the rebellious people, including:

65:3b–5 sacrificing in gardens and burning incense upon bricks; who sit in tombs, and spend the night in secret places; who eat swine's flesh, and broth of abominable things is in their vessels; who say, "Keep to yourself, do not come near me, for I am set apart from you." These are a smoke in my nostrils, a fire that burns all the day. **66:17–18a** Those who sanctify and purify themselves to go into the gardens, following one in the midst, eating swine's flesh and the abomination and mice, shall come to an end together, says Yahweh. For I know their works and their thoughts. **66:24** And they shall go forth and look on the dead bodies of the men that have rebelled against me; for their worm shall not die, their fire shall not be quenched, and they shall be an abhorrence to all flesh.

In a similar manner the sequence of lines in Ezekiel 28, involving verses 2, 7, 12, 16, and 17, need to be rearranged to recover the literary unity and probable transitions in Ezekiel's pronouncements against the king of Tyre. As revised, the text has the king boldly asserting his divinity, only to have it denied—though it is acknowledged by Ezekiel that the king of Tyre had a unique status with reference to wealth and wisdom.¹

The MT and traditional readings of the text, which place the king in the garden of Eden with his own personal cherub, have led many critics to speculate about pre-Israelite mythological motifs underlying Ezekiel's oracle.² Cook (1936: 315) noted

The story [in Ezekiel 28] belonged, no doubt, to the common stock of Semitic myths, some of them preserved in the Babylonian epics, some in Phoenician traditions. A select few are to be found in Genesis, purged by the genius of Hebrew religion; in Ez. the purifying process has not gone so far. Certain features of the story as given here, the mountain of God, the stones of fire, the gemmed robe, can hardly be of Hebrew origin; they came from Babylonia; not that Ez.

borrowed them directly, but the folk-lore upon which he drew had been steeped in Babylonian mythology from early times. It may be implied, but it is nowhere stated, that the chief character in the story was the first man.

Zimmerli (1983: 90–91), in a very similar way, interpreted Ezekiel 28 as follows:

It can scarcely be overlooked that from a traditio-historical point of view this account has close connections with Genesis 2f, the Yahwistic paradise narrative, and that it reveals an independent form of the tradition which is at the basis of that narrative. . . . Instead of a human couple, Ezekiel 28 speaks only of a single figure and this preserves the older form of the tradition. That Ezekiel 28 is also concerned with primeval man is strengthened by the two-fold emphatic reference to the creation of this figure (vv 13, 15). . . . With its element of the “mountain of the gods” and of this “warding off” (*סובך*) cherub, this tradition of the expulsion of the primeval man from the seat of the god points clearly back to pre-Israelite contexts.

However, the “garden of Eden” and the “sacred mountain of God” motifs are better read as part of the king of Tyre’s fanciful self assertion of his divinity, rather than part of Ezekiel’s declaration about the king of Tyre—which would have him using motifs from an otherwise unknown tradition about the “primeval” man. It seems unnecessary to postulate with Zimmerli (1983: 90) that “this account has close connections with Genesis 2f. . . and that it reveals an independent form of the tradition which is at the basis of the narrative.” A simple confusion *הָיִיתִ* “I was” and *הָיִתְּ* “you were” could well account for the difference between the self assertion “I was in Eden,” as proposed below, instead of the “you were in Eden,” as found in texts and tradition. It would not be surprising to have the king of Tyre using mythological

motifs in making his own claim of divinity and for Ezekiel to report the assertions made by the king of Tyre, whether real or imaginary. But it is most unlikely that Ezekiel, given his rigorous disdain for anything hinting of a foreign religion, would have employed such motifs on his own.

THE RESTORED LAMENT

28:2^a Thus says my Lord Yahweh: “*Because* your heart is proud you have said:
‘I am a god.

28:13^a ‘I was³ in Eden, the garden of God,⁴

28:14^b ‘I was on the holy mountain of God,⁵

28:2^b ‘I sit on the seat of the God in the heart of the seas.’

28:2^{c-5} “Yet you are but a man, and no god, though you consider yourself as wise as a god. You are indeed wiser than Daniel. No secret has been hidden from you. By your wisdom and your understanding you have gotten wealth for yourself; and you have gathered gold and silver into your treasures. By your great wisdom in trade you have increased your wealth, and your heart has become proud in your wealth.”

28:6 Therefore thus says my Lord Yahweh:

“*Because* you consider yourself as wise as a god,

28:16^b I—from the mountain of God—will defile you.⁶

28:7ff. Therefore, behold, I will bring strangers upon you, the most terrible of the nations, and they shall draw their swords against the beauty of your wisdom and defile your splendor. They will thrust you down into the Pit, and you shall die the death

of the slain in the heart of the seas. Will you still say ‘I am a god’ in the presence of those who slay you—though you are but a man, and no god—in the hands of those who wound you? You shall die the death of the uncircumcised by the hand of foreigners; for I have spoken,” says the Lord Yahweh.

Moreover the word of the Yahweh came to me:

- 28:12^a “Son of man, raise a lamentation over the king of Tyre and say to him:
- 28:12^b ‘Thus says my Lord Yahweh:
“You were the signet of erudition,⁷ full of wisdom and crowned with beauty.⁸
- 28:13^b Your canopy was of gold leaf⁹ and precious stones: carnelian, topaz, and jasper, chrysolite, beryl, and onyx, lapis lazuli, garnet, and emerald. Your (gem) settings¹⁰ were filled with (lustrous) antimony.¹¹
- 28:14^c You walked in the midst of fiery (gem) stones.
- 28:13^c For the day you were perfected¹² they were prepared.
- 28:14^a (As for) you,¹³ I treated you as the chief statesman¹⁴ of (all) those anointed!¹⁵
- 28:15 You were blameless in your ways from the day you were perfected,¹² until iniquity was found in you.
- 28:16^a In the abundance of your trade you were filled with violence, and you sinned.
- 28:17^a Your heart was proud because of your beauty; you corrupted your wisdom for the sake of your splendor.
- 28:16^c Therefore I remove you¹⁶ as chief statesman, from the midst of the fiery stones.

28:17^b I have cast you to the ground; I have exposed you before kings, to feast their eyes on you. By the multitude of your iniquities (and) in the unrighteousness of your trade you profaned your sanctuaries. So I brought forth fire from the midst of you; it consumed you, and I turned you to ashes upon the earth in the sight of all who saw you. All who know you among the peoples are appalled at you. You have come to a dreadful end and shall be no more for ever.””

CONCLUSION

The difficulties of Ezekiel 28, which have exasperated many commentators, can be minimized once several well attested scribal errors are identified (like the original *scriptio defectiva* הִיִּת [= הִיִּתִי “I was”] being misread as הִיַּת “you were”; an original תְּבוֹנָה “understanding, erudition” becoming חֲכָנוֹת “measurement”; and an original כָּרָב mispointed as מָרָב or misread as בָּרוּב).

Once the scribal errors are in focus it is possible to reconstruct the oracle from its current disjointed sequence of phrases and sentences. The king of Tyre appealed to mythological traditions when asserting his divine nature, stating—as reported by Ezekiel—“I am a god! I was in Eden! I was on the holy mountain of God! I sit on the seat of God!” Ezekiel quotes the king only to refute his claims. To insist that Ezekiel himself employed mythological motifs or a variant tradition about Eden’s “primeval” man when addressing the king of Tyre reflects a failure to appreciate the use of direct quotations in Ezekiel’s oracle, especially quotations which were literary devices rather than verbatim quotations of fact.

Far from a mythological component in Ezekiel’s personal expressions, there was a Deuteronomic element with which he

wrestled. The power, wisdom, and wealth of the king of Tyre was attributed to God's favor (28:14a, 15), like the blessings of prosperity promised to Israel in Deu 28:1–14. The king's abuse and misuse of his wisdom and wealth—culminating in his claim of divinity—actually culminated in Ezekiel's delivery of his death notice.

NOTES

1. In light of the Arabic cognates صبور (*sayyûr* = “judge-ment, opinion, understanding, intellect, intelligence” and تصور (*taṣawwur* = “the forming of an idea; conception, perception or apprehension” (Lane 1872: 1744c, 1755), the reputed ‘*wisdom* of the king/ruler of Tyre’ (*צָוָר מֶלֶךְ/נָגֵד צָר*) may reflect a word-play on the name **צָוָר**.
2. Note McKenzie 1959: 265–282; Habel 1967: 515–524; Margulis 1974: 1–23; van Seters 1989: 333–342; Muller 1990: 167–178; Jeppesen 1991: 83–94.
3. Reading חַיִתִי for MT חַיִתִי. Compare Ezek 22:4 where the MT וְתַבָּאֵי or וְתַבְּאֵי “you [masc. sg.] came” should be read as וְתַקְרִיבֵי [fem. sg.], which is in agreement with the preceding “you [fem. sg.] have made to draw near.” Numerous other examples of problematic verbal suffixes in Ezekiel can be cited, including (1) 23:49, where the Syriac read וְנִתְחַנֵּנוּ for MT וְנִתְחַנֵּנוּ; (2) 24:14, שְׁפָטָתִיךְ in some manuscripts for MT שְׁפָטָתְךָ; (3) 24:19, וְיִאֲמֹר for the MT וְיִאֲמֹר; and (4) 26:14, reading with the Septuagint תְּהִינָה for MT תְּהִינָה.
4. Possible Arabic cognates of עַדָן (“Eden”) are (‘*adân*) “the shore of the sea, the side of a river” and عِيدَان (‘*aydân*) “tall palm-trees” (Lane 1874: 1976, and 2191), which are synonyms of صور.

(*sawr* = צָוֶר) “the bank, or side, of a river” and (صَوْرِ *sawr*) “small palm-trees or a collection of small palm-trees” (Lane 1872: 1744, 1755), suggesting a wordplay with עַדְן “Eden” and צָוֶר “Tyre,” like the *čer* (= צָוֶר or צָוֶר) and סָלָע “rock” in 26: 4, 14.

5. Reading קִיִּית “I was” here also for MT קִיִּית “you were.”
6. Compare Ps 89:40, נָאָתָה בְּרִית עֲבֹדָךְ חַלְלָתָךְ לְאָרֶץ נָזְרוֹ, “thou hast renounced the covenant with thy servant; thou hast defiled his crown in the dust.” The Septuagint’s ἐτραυματίσθης ἀπὸ ὄφους τοῦ θεοῦ “you were wounded from the mountain of God,” reflects a *Vorlage* having וְחַלֵּל for the MT נְאָחַלֵּל (see BHS on 28:16), reflecting problems with the consonantal tradition.
7. Reading תְּבוֹנָה “understanding, discernment” for “measurement.” For other examples of the confusion of the י / י and the ב / ב see Delitzsch (1920) 103–105, §103; 110, §107^{a,b,c}.
8. Here בָּלֵל has the meaning of the Syriac cognate *kēlīl* “a crown” and its denominative “to crown” (BDB 480: Payne Smith 216).
9. Reading זָהָב מְלָאכָת תְּפִיךְ בְּתַת זָהָב from the MT זָהָב בְּתַת מְלָאכָת תְּפִיךְ, moving the מְלָאכָת to follow the subject, with מְסֻכָּתָךְ being the subject.
10. Reading וְנִקְבִּיד בְּמִן “and your settings for them [i.e., for the enumerated gems]” for MT וְנִקְבִּיד בְּכָל, reflecting a confusion of בְּ and בְּ in the older script of Ezekiel’s day. For other examples of the confusion of בְּ and בְּ see Delitzsch (1920) 114, §115^{a,b} and note 15, below.
11. Reading פְּוֹךְ for the פִּיךְ of the MT תְּפִיךְ. A dittography of the ת changed the original פִּיךְ to מְלָאכָת פְּוֹךְ.

12. The MT **הָבָרָאֵךְ** is ordinarily rendered “you were created,” (BDB 135), but can be translated “perfected” in light of the Arabic cognate بَرَأَ (*bara'*) “he was or became clear, or free of, or from, a thing, he became in a state of freedom or immunity, secure or safe [from sickness, imperfection, fault, defect, or blemish” and بَرِيءٌ (*barī'*) “clear of evil qualities or dispositions, shunning what is vain and false . . . sound in body and intellect” (Lane 1863: 178–179). The implication is that the king of Tyre owed no obligation or debt for the precious gems he acquired. They were perhaps his coronation gifts.

13. Reading the masculine pronoun **וְ** or **וְהַ** for the feminine **וְ** of the MT. This is another example of the *casus obliquus* of the independent pronoun, found elsewhere in Prov 22:19 and Gen 49:8 (see GKC 135^c).

14. Reading **אַתְּ־בָרוֹב** for the MT **בָּרָבָן** **מִשְׁיחִים** **הַסּוֹבֵךְ**, with its problematic feminine suffix. This requires (1) reading a final נ for the MT נ, (2) moving the נ of MT בָּרָבָן to the next word as a נ, and (3) transposing the initial מ of מִשְׁיחִים to become the final ח of **מִשְׁיחִים**. (The second change removes questions about the absence of the anticipated definite article ה on the MT since its apparent modifier, **הַסּוֹבֵךְ**, has the article.) For other examples of the confusion the נ and נ see Delitzsch (1920): 116 §120^b. Hebrew סִבְנִי, to be read here for MT סִבְנֵךְ, is a cognate of Ugaritic *skn* “governor, mayor, high official,” used in parallelism with “king” (Gordon 450, #1754). Gen 42:30 וְצִוָּתָן אֲחֵנוּ נָתַן “and he treated us as spies,” is a parallel example of נָתַן followed by the preposition בְּ and a direct object. The LXX^{AB} τὰ τοῦ χερουσθέθηκά σε “I set you with the cherub” omits all but the ה of the MT רְבִ-סּוֹבֵן. The LXX “chief statesman,” as suggested here, would be a title like רְבִ-שְׂקָה (II Kings 18:17–37 and Isa 36:2–22), **רְבִ-מֶּגֶד** (Dan 1:3), and **רְבִ-סְרִירִם** (Jer 39: 3, 13).

15. Reading Reading מִשְׁחָם [scriptio defectiva for מִשְׁחֵי חַיִם] for the problematic MT מִשְׁחָה, which occurs only here. The MT has been variously rendered: KJV “anointed” (following Theodotian and LXX^O, but not the LXX^{AB} which have nothing for these words); Vulgate *extensus* “far-reaching”; and Σ καταμετρημένος “measurement.” The Targum (Sperber 3: 1996) lends support to the proposal made here. It reads מֶרֶב אֶת מֶלֶךְ, and appears (1) to have read מֶרֶב (= preposition מ + noun רֶב) rather than “cherub” and (2) to have read סֶכֶן rather than the MT סֶכֶךְ, with both the סֶכֶן and the מֶלֶךְ being translated as מֶלֶךְ “king.” For other examples of the confusion the סֶכֶן and מֶרֶב, see Delitzsch (1920): 114 §115^{a,b} and note 10, above. See also BDB 603, *sub* מִשְׁחָה.

16. See GKC 68^k for reading נִזְבֵּנָא as a 1cs verb rather than as a 3ms. The verb is נִזְבֵּן “to separate, to isolate” (BDB 94; Jastrow 138) rather than נִזְבֵּן.

XXIII

NO MOON OF BLOOD IN JOEL 2:31 (HEBREW 3:4)

INTRODUCTION

הַשְׁמֶשׁ יִהְפֹּךְ לְחֹשֶׁךְ
וַיְרֵחַ לְדָם
לְפָנֵי בּוֹא יוֹם יְהוָה הַגָּדוֹל וְהַנּוֹרָא

The sun shall be turned to darkness,
and the moon to blood,

before the great and terrible day of the LORD comes.

(RSV, NRS)

In Joel 2:10 it is stated that שֶׁמֶשׁ וַיְרֵחַ קָדְרוּ וּכְכָבִים אָסְפּוּ נִגְרָה “the sun and the moon are darkened and the stars withdraw their shining.” The same words appear again in 3:15 (Hebrew 4:15). But sandwiched between these statements which say the *moon will be darkened* is the statement that the moon will be turned to blood. This *cannot* mean it will become red *like* blood since the preposition prefixed to דָם is לְ “to, into,” not כְ “like.” The MT וַיְרֵחַ לְדָם has to be taken as literally as הַשְׁמֶשׁ יִהְפֹּךְ לְחֹשֶׁךְ “the sun will turn *to* darkness.”¹ Wolff (1977: 68) commented on the difficulty of the text by suggesting: “That the moon turns ‘bloody’ indicates that the thought here is not, or at least not only, of ordinary eclipses of the sun and the moon, but at times of darkening to catastrophe.” But if that were the case, one would expect the text to say “the earth will turn to blood.”

Wolff and other commentators failed to indicate how the moon's becoming real blood—which could certainly present a red light in the sky—relates to darkness, *per se*. But the moon's turning literally into blood makes little sense since, with the moon being dark (2:10), it would not be visible anyway whatever its composition. These observations raise this twofold question: must בָּדָךְ mean “blood,” and if not what are the other lexical options for בָּדָךְ?

בָּדָךְ MEANING “DARK”

It has long been recognized that monosyllabic hollow verbs often have by-forms in which a medial consonantal נ or נ appears in lieu of the vowel letters ו or ו, including:

בֹּשׁ	בָּהַת	“shame” (Aramaic)
דֹּוֹר	דָּהָר	“long time, age” (Arabic)
לִוְטָה	לָהָטָה	“secrecy” (Exo 7:11)
לוֹטָה	לָאָטָה	“secrecy” (Jud 4:21)
מוֹלֵה	מָהָלֵה	“to circumcise”
מוֹרֵה	מָהָרֵה	“to exchange”
נוֹרֵה	נָהָרֵה	“a light” and “to shine”
רוֹםָה	רָאָםָה	“to rise” (Zech 14:10)
רוֹזָה	רָהָטָה	“run” (Aramaic, Syriac)

Out of this list בָּדָךְ and לִוְטָה and נָהָרֵה are of special interest because they illustrate that, in addition to by-forms with a נ or an נ, there are monosyllabic nouns without the נ or the נ or a ו. (In the Bible דָּר “generation” appears thirty-seven

times, מְלֵלָה “secrecy” occurs three times, and נַרְנָה “lamp” occurs twenty-three times.)

The מְנֻמָּד in Joel 2:31 (MT 3:4) can be derived from the root מְנֻמָּד “to be dark” just as נָרָה can be derived from נְנֻמָּד “to shine, to light.” The *Niph‘al* of מְנֻמָּד, stem I, “to astonish” appears in Jer 14:9 (מְנֻמָּד “to be astonished,” for which the Septuagint has ὑπνός “asleep,” apparently from a *Vorlage* with מְנֻמָּד).

The Arabic cognate of מְנֻמָּד, stem II, is v^a< (*dahama*) “he surprised, he took unawares” (BDB 187). But v^a<, in forms 2 and 9, means “it blackened, it became black” and there are the derivative nouns قٰتٰلٰه “blackness,” زَمْنٰنٰه “the night,” وَالْمَوْعِدٰه “dark trial, calamity,” and وَالْمَوْمَعٰه “black.” This last term is also used for “the twenty-ninth night of the [lunar] month because of its blackness,” just as وَالْمَوْمَعٰه (*adduhmu*) means “the three nights of the [lunar] month [during which is the change of the moon] because they are black” (Lane 1867: 925; Wehr 1979: 342).

In Gen 15:17 the sun had gone down and it was dark,” became in Walton’s *London Polyglot* (1667) v^a< w^kÖ FtGo! #"\ "tpc (fālammā’âbat’āššamsu wakānat’adduhma), with the Hebrew מְנֻמָּד “darkness” being rendered by v^a< (*duhmu*).² In light of such evidence, I have also proposed in Chapter X above that Jos 10: 12b–13a actually means “Sun, be dark over Gibeon! Moon over the valley of Aijalon! The sun became darkened, and the moon stayed concealed—whereupon the nation took vengeance upon its enemies. The sun concealed itself while in the middle of the sky and actually hasten to set as though it were a whole day!”

CONCLUSION

Since כַּךְ “dark” can be related to כָּהֵן as נֶרֶם “light” is related to נֶרֶם, there is no longer any compelling reason to read every occurrence of כַּךְ in the Hebrew Bible as כְּבֵד “blood.” The interpretation of כַּךְ needs to be contextually sensible. Both occurrences of כַּךְ in Joel 2:30–31, in full agreement with 2:10 and 3:15, can easily be translated as “darkness” rather than “blood.” Subsequent direct or indirect quotations of Joel, as in the *Assumption of Moses* 10:6, which reads “the moon shall not give her light, and be turned wholly into blood,” reflect the same misunderstanding of כַּךְ “dark” as those found in the Septuagint with its αἰ[ma] and the Vulgate with its *sanaguinem*.³

Joel’s portents included earthly fires, the smoke of which would bring about such darkness that the sun, moon and stars will not be visible. He also used the language of lunar and solar eclipses with their diminished light.⁴

NOTES

1. Kapelrud’s (1948: 141) suggestion that the moon’s turning to blood was “probably above all her colour which is thought of, as in Ex. 7:20f., where Moses changes the water of the Nile into blood,” must be faulted for its indifference to the force of the preposition בְּ.
2. Walton (1667). Castell (1669: 659) also noted the use of v^a|< (*duhmu*) in Zech 6:2, 6, and Rev 6:5. In Akkadian the cognate of כַּךְ/כְּבֵד is *da’āmu*, as in *id-ḥi-im šamšum* “the sun darkened” and [*ūm*]ūšu utekkilu šamu *id-da’u-mu*] “the day darkened for him.” (*CAD* 3: 1).
3. See Charles 1973 II: 410, 422. As Charles pointed out, biblical texts dealing with the darkness of the sun and the moon include

Ezek 32:7, Ecc 12:2, Isa 13:10, Matt 24:29, Mark 13:24, Luke 23:45, Acts 2:20, Rev 6:12, 9:2.

4. Aguirre (1999) noted:

Viewers of total solar eclipse of August 11, 1999 reported that they were impressed with the eclipse's fantastic display of colors. The sky was a stunning deep blue, trimmed at the horizon with a rich orange rim of dawn. The corona, which was visible for a little over 50 seconds, was pearly white and uniformly round.

Espenak (1999) noted "During the 50 century period -1999 to 3000 (i.e.: 2000 B.C. to 3000 A.D.), Earth experiences 11,897 solar eclipses as follows:

All Eclipses	=	11897	=	100.0 %
Partial (P)	=	4197	=	35.5 %
Annular (A)	=	3960	=	33.3 %
Total (T)	=	3190	=	26.8 %
Hybrid (H)	=	550	=	4.6 % "

For a suggestion on which of these eclipses Joel had in mind, see Stephenson (1969: 224) and Ahlström's (1971: 73) response to Stephenson's proposal.

XXIV

AMBIGUITIES IN AMOS' RÉSUMÉ AMOS 1:1 AND 7:14

INTRODUCTION

Amos 1:1

הַנִּיחָה בְּנֵקְדִּים מִתְקֹועַ

[Amos] was among the ranchers from Tekoa

οἵ ἐγένοντο ἐν νακκάριμ ἐκ Θεκουε

[the words of Amos]

which occurred in *nokkarim* from Tekoa

Amos 7:14

לֹא־נָבִיא אֲנָבִי וְלֹא בָּן־נָבִיא אֲנָבִי

I (am/was) not a prophet and I (am/was) not the son of a
prophet

οὐκ ἦμην προφήτης ἐγὼ οὐδὲ υἱὸς προφήτου

I am not a prophet nor the son of a prophet

בָּוקֶר אֲנָבִי וּבּוֹלֵס שְׁקָמִים

I am a herdsman, and a dresser of sycamores

ἀλλ' ἡ σιπόλος ἦμην καὶ κνίζων συκάμινα

but I am a goat herder and a scrapper of sycamores

The résumé of Amos is limited to the above verses, which together in Hebrew consists of fourteen words—excluding prepositions and conjunctions—seven of which are repeated words. Only six of these words are relatively unambiguous: the pronoun “**אֲנָבִי**” “I” (three times), the verb “**הִנֵּחַ**” “he was,”¹

and the noun נִבְיאָה “prophet” (twice). The other eight words are, to varying degrees, ambiguous and warrant continued investigation. The ambiguities are here examined in sequence.

AMBIGUITY OF נִקְדִּים “RANCHERS”

Perhaps the most conspicuous difference is the transliterated νακκαριμ in the Septuagint of 1:1 for the MT נִקְדִּים “ranchers,” which was obviously read as נִקְרִים and treated as a name or a noun unrelated to the stem נַקֵּד “to bore, to pick, to dig” (BDB: 669); otherwise one would have expected a translation rather than a transliteration.² Were the נִקְרִים original it could be a very appropriate assessment of Amos’ character—from Amaziah’s point of view—given the semantic range of the Arabic cognate نَقَرَ (*naqara*) which includes “to offend, vex, hurt, insult, revile, malign, and defame,” as well as “to investigate, to examine” (Lane 1893: 2838; Wehr 1979: 1161). However, Amos’ reference to גְּזָעָה “flock” in 7:15 mitigates against reading נִקְרִים (with the Septuagint’s νακκαριμ) instead of the MT נִקְדִּים.

However, there may be more to נִקְדִּים than first meets the eye. It is not a simple synonym of the more general רֶעֶה “to pasture, tend, graze.” In Arabic نَقْد (*naqd*) is used for “a kind of sheep of ugly form . . . having short legs and ugly faces” (Lane 1893: 2836) and “a kind of sheep with very abundant wool” (BDB: 667). In II Kings 3:4, it is noted that מִשְׁעָם מֶלֶךְ “Mesha king of Moab was a נִקְדָּה” and “he had to deliver annually to the king of Israel 100,000 lambs, and the wool of a hundred thousand rams.”³

In light of Mesha's being a נוֹקֵד on a grand scale, Anderson and Freedman (1989: 188) admitted that נוֹקֵד “. . . can designate a wealthy pastoralist, which has made some people wonder whether Amos was a sheep owner and not merely a tender of flocks, as the language of 7:14 suggests.” They concluded, however, “Amos lived in a different country, in a different century, and in differing economic circumstances from Mesha, so similarity need only be slight.” But there may be more than a hint of wealth with נוֹקֵד since نقد (*naqada*) also means “he examined money, he separated the bad from the good, he paid the price in cash or ready money”(Lane 1893: 2836; Wehr 1979: 1160).

Amos as a נוֹקֵד may have been an *affluent rancher* once it is realized that נוֹקֵד has multiple levels of meaning. The Arabic نقد (*naqada*) permits even a third level of meaning, namely, “to examine critically, to criticize, to call to account, to find fault, to show up the shortcomings” (Wehr 1979: 1160-1161). As an *affluent rancher* (נוֹקֵד) Amos may well have had enough *money* (נוֹקֵד) to be invited as the speaker at Amaziah's royal sanctuary where, instead of offering *cash* (נוֹקֵד) he proffered devastating *criticism* (נוֹקֵד), and, not surprisingly, he insulted and offended (נוֹקֵד = Septuagint νακκαριμ) his audience.

AMBIGUITY ABOUT נוֹקֵד

There is no uncertainty about the location of עיְקָוֶת Tekoa, identified with *Hirbet Tequ'a* ten miles south of Jerusalem. It was “exactly on the border between the cultivated land to the west and steppe, the ‘wilderness of Judah,’ to the east” (Wolff 1977: 123). However, the derivation of the name has been

problematic since any connection with עֲקֹעַ “to thrust (a weapon), to blow (a horn), to clap (the hands)” and עֲקֹעַ “a wind instrument, horn” (BDB: 1075) seems dubious. But if the הָ of עֲקֹעַ is only a prefix attached to the stem קֹעַ — like רְמֵם and תְּרוּמָה — the Arabic cognate قَاع/قَوْع (qâ‘) “an even place, plain or level land that produces nothing” (Lane 1893: 2994; Wehr 1979: 932) is very suggestive. If this is the derivation of Tekoa, it is ironic that one of the Israel's greatest prophets came from a town which, by name, was “a place that produced nothing.”

AMBIGUITY OF נִלְ

One of the most surprising statements in prophetic literature is Amos' declaration לֹא־נִבְיא אָנֹכִי, literally, “not a prophet I.”⁴ Lacking a verb, the tense of the phrase is ambiguous, consequently the debate whether Amos intended to say, (1) “(formerly) I was not a prophet,” implying that he acknowledged at that moment though he was *now* a prophet, or (2) “I am not (now) a prophet, implying he never was and never intended to be a prophet.

Even if a temporal modifier like עד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה “until this day” or מִן הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה “from this day” had been used, ambiguity would remain since the נִלְ may not have been the negative particle נִלְ “not” but the emphatic particle נִלְ “indeed, surely, verily.” Richardson (1966: 89) noted: “[Amos] not only spoke well of the נִבְיאִים but implied that he was one of them (3:8). Moreover he twice used the verb נִבְאַת to characterize his own ministry (3:8; 7:15).” Following Richardson's

proposal, the לֹא־נָבִיא אָנֹבֵי should be revocalized and read as “Indeed, I am a prophet!”⁵

Richardson rightly read the לֹא of לֹא־נָבִיא as the negative particle, reconstructing paronomasia with לֹא . . . לֹא . . . rather than simple repetition of לֹא . . . לֹא. A good analogy of Amos’ affirmation that he was indeed a *prophet* but not of the *corps of prophets* can be found with Micaiah ben Imlah and his four hundred colleagues (I Kings 22:6–33). Jehoshaphat inquired, “הֲאֵין פֶּה נָבִיא לְיְהוָה עוֹד” “Is there not her another prophet for Yahweh?” King Jehoshaphat acknowledged the *corps* of prophets (בְּנֵי־נָבִיאִים),⁶ but he was looking for someone outside the *corps*. Amos, like Micaiah, was surely (לֹא) a prophet, but just as surely Amos and Micaiah were *not* (לֹא) members of the *corps*.⁷

In terms of today’s clerical terminology Amos was a lay preacher who was not among the ordained and credentialed clergy. As an independent lay preacher he was (1) free to speak his mind—not the institutional line—and (2) free to be bi-vocational. As with Amos’ prophetic vocation, there were also ambiguities concerning his other jobs.

בָּזָקָר AMBIGUITY OF

The meaning of בָּזָקָר “herdsman” has been problematic for the Septuagint reads αἱπόλος “goatherd,” whereas other Greek texts have βουκόλος “[cattle] herdsman.” Wolff (1977: 306) identified בָּזָקָר (which occurs only in this passage) “as a substantized participle, denominative from בָּקָר, ‘cattle.’” As such one would expect Amos to have been

involved with cows and bulls rather than with a נָצֵר of sheep and goats. Andersen and Freedman (1989: 778) settled for “cattleman,” suggesting “that Amos was a kind of jack-of-all-trades: cowboy, shepherd, seasonal farm worker; *but not a prophet*” (italics mine). Wolff (1977:306) opted for a “livestock breeder.” The Arabic cognate بقار (*baqqâr*) is equally ambiguous since it can mean “cowhand, cowboy” as well as “an owner or possessor of oxen, bulls, cows” (Lane 1863: 234; Wehr 1979: 84).

The verb בְּקַר “to inquire, to seek” (BDB: 183) is well attested in Hebrew in the *Pi'el*, consequently no one has proposed to read בֹּקֶר as a *Qal* participle “examiner, investigator.” However, the Arabic بقار (*baqara*) in form I (= *Qal*) is clearly attested meaning “he examined, or inspected” and “he inquired, he searched” (Lane 1863: 233). In light of this, בֹּקֶר could be the *Qal* participle “inquirer,” rather than the singular example of the denominative meaning “cattleman.” In view of the Septuagint νοκκαριμ (= נִקְרִים “investigators, examiners”) in 1:1, the possibility that בֹּקֶר means “examiner” cannot be discounted—not to mention that נִקְרָה can also mean “an examiner (of money).” If Amos was an “examiner” the object of his investigation will be hidden in the ambiguities in the last two words of his résumé.

בּוֹלֵס AMBIGUITY OF

Just as בֹּקֶר is the only example in the Hebrew Bible of a denominative from בָּקָר “cattle” becoming the participle “cattleman,” בּוֹלֵס is the only example of a denominative

from the Arabic cognate بَلْس (*balas*) “fig” meaning “a tender of figs” (Harper 1905: 174). The Targum omitted בָּלֵס but it noted that the sycamores were in the Shephelah, not in the highlands of Tekoa. The Septuagint translated בָּלֵס as κνίζων “scraping,” and Theodotian rendered it as χαράσσων “marking.” Wright (1976: 368) has well summarized the varied evidence, ancient and modern, about what Amos did to the Shephelah figs, concluding “one of the tasks of Amos was to nip the sycamore fruit in order to hasten ripening. . . . [or] the concern of Amos with the sycamore was in providing fodder for those [animals] in his charge.”

Because the Arabic س (*s*) regularly appears in Hebrew as a ש rather than פ, the original spelling of בָּלֵס may have been בָּלֵש. This seems to have been the reading of Aquila who translated בָּלֵס as ἐξευνοῦ “he examined,” as though this verb was from בְּלִשָּׁה “to inquire” (Jastrow 1903: 175, BDB: 119, n. pr. בְּלִשָּׁן “inquirer” [?]). Because Aquila is renowned for extreme literalisms, בָּלֵש warrants serious attention. The interchange in Hebrew of ש and פ is well attested, as with (1) שׂוֹג or סַג “to backslide” and “to fence about” (2) שׂוֹר or סֻוֹר (Hosea 9:12) “to turn aside,” and (3) סַפְחָת “scab” but שַׁפְחָה “to cause a scab” (BDB, 705). Aquila’s translation suggests that the *Vorlage* was בָּלֵש (= שׂוֹר “searcher”) which was *misread* as בָּלֵש and changed to בָּלֵס when שׂקמִים was read as “sycamores.” If בָּלֵש was originally in the text and בָּלֵס was secondary, the question arises, “Did Amos search for sycamores trees or really have anything to do with figs?” This question leads to the final ambiguity in Amos’ résumé

שְׁקָמִים

There is more than one way to read and interpret שְׁקָמִים. It can obviously be vocalized “*sycamores*” as traditionally understood.” But it can also be pointed as שְׁקָמִים and read as the relative particle שׁ affixed to the plural participle of קֹם. The relative שׁ followed by a participle of קֹם is attested in Jud 5:7, “עד שְׁקָמִתִּי דְבָרָה” “until the rising of Deborah.” (שׁ + קֹמֶת + י [the *hireq compaginis*, GKC 90^m]). Instead of speaking of *tending* cattle and *searching* for sycamores, Amos may have stated: “**I** בָּזָקֵר אֲנַבֵּי וּבָזָלֵשׁ שְׁקָמִים am an inquirer and an investigator of what are the happenings.”⁸ (The participle suggests that the events under investigation were current events.) Had Amos simply said אֲנַבֵּי דָוָרֵשׁ אֲתָּה אֲשֶׁר־יְהִי “I am investigating what will come to pass” rather than אֲנַבֵּי בָזָלֵשׁ שְׁקָמִים, the “figs” and “sycamores” would never have made it into his résumé.

CONCLUSION

Ambiguities can seldom be resolved into certainties, but ambiguities addressed can provide probabilities. Concerning Amos’ résumé, the reference to צָאן in 7:15 (“the Lord took me from following the *flock*”) corroborates the tradition that Amos was a נָזֵד “rancher” of sheep/goats (probably on a grand scale like Mesha of Moab) and was successful enough to have time, energy, and finances for an *avocation* as well as a *vocation*. While tradition asserts that Amos’ second vocation was a lowly job working with figs and fodder, the consonantal Hebrew text suggests—upon reading שׁ for ס—that Amos’ other occupation (or preoccupation) was that of a

researcher and an examiner of what was happening in his time.

In support of this untraditional interpretation of 7:14, one can appeal not only to cognates and the semantic range of all the lexemes, but also to Amos' oracles themselves which are as erudite as they are artistic. Amos demonstrated a breadth of knowledge which came as much by education as from direct revelation. His inquiries may have been the by-product of his success as a rancher, which accorded him leisure for an avocation of search and study. Far from being a jack-of-all-trades, Amos may well have been a master of two: ranching and research. Personal wealth from ranching may have been the "credential" which opened the doors of the royal chapel to him as a prophet; and his personal integrity in declaring the truth he learned may have closed those same doors against him. Being a בָּקָר "searcher" and a בָּקָר "researcher" was preparation for Amos's becoming a prophet. His *avocation* became primary, culminating in a career change from *rancher* to *prophet*.

NOTES

1. The Septuagint reads the plural ἐγένοντο as though the Hebrew was נִיחַ rather than נִיחֵי, with the initial נִיחַ as the subject rather than עֲמֹם.
2. Theodotian also had difficulty with נִקְדִּים and simply transliterated it as νωκεδείμ (Hatch and Redpath 2: 956; Wolff: 116, citing Jerome's commentary, as *nocedim*).
3. The Septuagint reads καὶ Μωσα βασιλεὺς Μωαβ ἦν νωκηδ "and Mesha, king of Moab was a *nôqed*," having only a transliteration of the Hebrew טָבֵן.

4. It should also be noted that the Arabic cognates of נָבִיא / נָבָע are: (1) نَبِيٌّ (*nabi*) or نَبِيٌّ (*nabî*) “a prophet who acquaints or informs mankind, or who is acquainted or informed, respecting God and things unseen” (Lane 2752–2753); or (2) نَبُو (*nabû*) / نَبَا (*nabâ*) “to be in conflict, to irk, to offend”; or (3) نَبِيٌّ (*nabih*) “noble, famous, distinguished, perspicacious,” with نَبَّا (*naba'*) meaning “news, information, intelligence, report” (Wehr 1100, 1104–1105). On the interchange of נָבִיא and נָבָע, see GKC §19^a.

5. Wolff (1977: 306) noted Richardson's proposal but followed tradition. Andersen and Freedman (1989: 777) made no reference to Richardson's proposal; but Driver's article (1955: 91–92) is noted, though not discussed. Driver observed that “the simple *lō'* ‘not’ is used with interrogative force, which easily becomes asseverative, strange as this may seem . . .” The literature on the emphatic לְ and לַ continues to grow. In addition to references cited by Richardson, note McDaniel (1968) 206–208; Dahood (1975): 341–342; Whitley (1975: 202–204; and Huehnergard (1983) 569–593, especially 591. See also Chapter XV, 129–130, above.

6. Ackroyd (1956: 94) has well summarized the options on the ambiguous בָּנָיִת נָבִיא,⁷

Either it means ‘I belong to a prophetic family’ where the word family may be equivalent to ‘guild’ or ‘profession,’ just as in the expression ‘sons of the prophets’ we have in such associations in Israel (cf. also I S 10⁵). Or it means ‘I have the quality which belongs to a prophet,’ just as בָּנָיִת חִיל means ‘a man who has the quality of חִיל,’ and the בָּנָיִת אֱלֹהִים are ‘beings which have the quality of אֱלֹהִים.’

7. See also Wolff (1979) 313, especially the final paragraph of his excursus on “The Vocation of Amos,” where he stated “Amos establishes a sharp contrast . . . between a prophet by virtue of

office . . . a salaried cult official and his own independent activity sanctioned by Yahweh alone.”

8. For the semantic range of **מִלָּא**, see See BDB: 877 and Wehr 1979: 934–938, where the following definitions are included, “to come to pass, take place, be on-going; to happen.”

XXV

THE MOBILE SHRINE IN ZECHARIAH 5:5–11

INTRODUCTION

At first glance Zechariah's sixth vision in 5:5–11 appears to depict a woman sitting in a basket, requiring a very big basket or a very small woman. The **אֵיפָה**, according to various estimates (Meyers 1987: 296), was about a bushel, more or less, and was much too small a basket in which to seat a woman. Consequently, the *woman* has at times been exegetically miniaturized to a female *figurine* to accommodate the container. However, a closer examination of the text led some commentators to shy away from ‘a woman in a basket.’ Carol and Eric Meyers (1987: 293) opted for a simple transliteration of the key word as follows:

וְאֵת קְאֵיפָה הַיּוֹצָאת . . . וְזֹאת
אִשָּׁה אֲחַת יֹשֶׁבֶת בְּתוֹךְ קְאֵיפָה

“This is the Ephah which goes forth . . .
and this is one woman seated in the Ephah.”

In this study I present the evidence for interpreting Zech 5:7 as follows, with the key words in italics: “This is the *mobile shrine* . . . and this is the ‘*first lady*’ sitting in the middle of the *shrine*.” The shrine would have been the counterpart to the **אָרוֹן בְּרִית־יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת** “ark of the covenant of Yahweh of hosts” (I Sam 4:4). The **אֵיפָה יוֹצָאת** “*mobile shrine*” may have resembled and function somewhat like the sacred palanquins (*o-mikoshi*) used to transport a deity in Shinto festivals.

אֵיפָה MEANING “SHRINE”

Unrecognized by lexicographers and translators until this century was the fact that אֵיפָה had more than one meaning. Just as בְּתִים could be בְּמִקְרָם “measuring receptacles” (for liquids = the *bath*) or בְּתִים “houses, receptacles, temples,” and as עַיִן could be either an “eye” or a “spring” (of water), so the אֵיפָה could be “a bushel like container for dry goods” or “a room, cela, or shrine.” Recognition that אֵיפָה could be a “shrine” was made by Marenof (1931: 264) who associated it with the shrine of the Sumerian goddess Nin-Girsu, known as the *E-pa* “summit house.” Marenof suggested that *e-pa* became the Hebrew אֵיפָה in the same way Sumerian *e-gal* became the Hebrew הַיּוֹבֵל “palace, temple.” As noted, Carol and Eric Meyers (1987: 297), with some ambivalence, embraced Marenof’s interpretation and opted to render אֵיפָה as “Ephah,” with a capital “E” to indicate “the shrine frame of reference,” rather than a straightforward translation of it as “shrine.”¹

What Marenof could not have known in 1932, and what was not mentioned by Carol and Eric Meyers in 1987, is that the masculine form (*ap*) of אֵיפָה appears in the Ugaritic texts as a synonym for *hdm* “rooms” and with *tgr* “gate” (= the entrance/court of the gate) (Gordon 1965: 362, #264; 364, # 298). The absence of any cultic association of *ap* at Ugarit is noteworthy. Translating it as “shrine,” as proposed in this study, comes from context, especially the use of בֵּית “temple” in 5:11 (like the בֵּית used for the *temple* of Yahweh in I Kings 7: 12, 40–51).

The MT לֵיוֹצָאת “the one going forth” suggests that the shrine was portable and mobile. In a vision even a room-size

shrine could have had mobility and have been large enough for a woman or a life-size statue of a goddess.

The MT **בְּכֶר עַפְרָה**, usually translated “lead weight” which served as the roof of the shrine was probably just a simple “circular cover.” The **עַפְרָה** is the equivalent of the Arabic **عَفْرَة** (*gufirat*) “cover”; and **כֶּר** can be the cognate of **عَفَر** (*afar*) “dust” or **غَفَر** (*gafara*) “he covered/concealed,” as in the phrase **غَفَرَ الْمَتَاعِ فِي الْوَعَاءِ** (*gafara almatā'a fi alwi'a*) “he concealed the things in a vessel” (Lane 1877: 2273).

The MT **עַפְרָה** would be the normal feminine participle in agreement with the feminine **בְּכֶר**. The extended discussions in some commentaries about **עַפְרָה** “lead” and “talents” seem gratuitous, and the failure to mention **غَفَر** (*gafara*) has to be an oversight. The fact that a *circular covering* was placed over the “mouth” of the **אֵיפָה** does not require the **אֵיפָה** to be a vessel. The semantic range of **פֶּה** “mouth” includes “end” and “top” (as in Pro 8:3; **לִפְיִקְרֹת** “from the top of rafters,” or the MT **לִפְיִקְרָה** “to the end of town”).

עֲוֹנָם / עַיִנָּם THE MEANING OF **עֲוֹנָם** / **עַיִנָּם**

Delitzsch (1920: 105) listed Zech 5:6 among the numerous texts in which there was a confusion of **וְ** and **וְ**, like Hos 10:10 where the *Kethib* is **עֲוֹנָתָם** but the *Qere* is **עֲוֹנָתָם** “their sins.” Although there is no *Qere/Kethib* for Zech 5:6, the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint and the Syriac must have read **עֲוֹנָם**, “their iniquity,” whereas the *oculus eorum* “their eye” of the Vulgate indicates a *Vorlage* with **עַיִנָּם**. The English translations vary with the KJV, NKJ, NAS, and YLT all

following the Hebrew עִנָּה, and translating עִנָּה as “resemblance,” or “appearance” or “aspect.” The RSV, NRSV, and NAS followed the Greek and Syriac and rendered עִנָּה as “iniquity” or “guilt.” The NIV emended the text to עַונְתָּה “the iniquity of the people.” Carol and Eric Meyers (1987: 297) stated, “the MT need not be altered,” but they nevertheless emended עִנָּה to עִנְנָה “its appearance,” the feminine antecedent of *its* being the Ephah since there was no explicit antecedent for the masculine plural suffixed ה.

The proposal here is that עִנָּה of the Greek and Syriac *Vorlagen* should be followed, but the stem עִנָּה should *not* be restricted to עִנָּה “iniquity.” Knowing how the vision ends helps in understanding how it developed. The mobile shrine was to be relocated by winged women to Shinar where a temple would be built for it—suggestive of the shrine atop a ziggurat. Knowing this, it seems obvious that the figure in the shrine was a goddess to be worshiped in Shinar—but not in Judah! The female figure hidden in the shrine had her rightful place of worship and her legitimate devotees for whom she was עִנָּה “their help,”² with עִנָּה being the cognate of Arabic عُون (*cawn*) “aid, assistance,” used in reference to God’s aiding a person—as in the prayer “O my Lord, *aid* me, and *aid* not against me” (Lane 1874: 2203; Wehr 1979: 771–772). The ambiguity of the plural suffix ה seems intentional. If the shrine was a cult center in Shinar, it would be עִנְנָה “their [Shinar’s] help,” but, when the shrine became a cult center in Judah, it then became עִנְנָה “their [Judah’s] iniquity.” The ambiguity of the ה is a clue to the *double entendre* of עִנָּה.

אֲשֶׁר אִתְחַדָּה “FIRST LADY”

The feminine **אֲשֶׁר אִתְחַדָּה** “the first lady” functions like the masculine **יּוֹם אֶחָד** “the first day” of Gen 1:5. The singularity of the person rests in the singular demonstrative **הֵא**, as well as the singular form of the noun. In terms of number the **תְּחִדָּה** is superfluous since **הָשָׁנָה** is morphologically singular. Thus, it seems best to interpret **אֲשֶׁר אִתְחַדָּה** as title of priority and/or status. If priority was the focus, it suggests a title for a goddess (with **תְּחִדָּה אֲשֶׁר** being a circumlocution for **אֱלֹהֶת אֱחָת** or **אֱלֹהֶת אֶחָת** “first goddess.”) A reference to such a goddess may survive in the **סָמֵל הַקְּנָנָה** of Eze 8:3, which can be translated “the image of jealousy” or as “the image of the creatress,” since **קְנָה/קְנָנָה** can also mean “to create”—as well as “to acquire” and “to be zealous” (Gordon 1965: 479). Jeremiah’s reference to the “Queen of heaven” (44:17–19, 25) would be another likely candidate for the title of **תְּחִדָּה אֲשֶׁר** “first lady.” Whether it was priority or status, **תְּחִדָּה אֲשֶׁר** reflects a sarcastic modification by the angel of Yahweh of what must have been a title of reverence for the goddess and/or her image.³

For the devotees in Shinar the goddess figure in the mobile shrine would be **הַרְשַׁעַת** “the one making [the means of subsistence] abundant,” but for the people of Judah in covenant with Yahweh she was **הַרְשַׁעַת** “the wicked one.” There is surely another *double entendre* here. Hebrew **רְשֻׁעָה** means not only “wickedness,” it can also be the cognate of Arabic **رسخ** (*rasaqā*) “he made ample, he made abundant” and the adjective **رسيق** (*rasiq*) “ample, abundant” (Lane 1867: 1081).

CONCLUSIONS

The sixth vision of Zechariah suggests several subtle word associations with dry or liquid measures: **יְפָה** “the *ephah*” and “shrine”; **בָּת** “the *bath*” and **בֵּית** “temple”; **כָּר** “the *kor*” and **כָּבָר** “circular.” It also has two cases of *double entendre*: **עֹונָם רָשָׁעָה** “wickedness” and **רָשָׁעָה עֹונָם** “abundant,” as well as **עֹונָם** “their iniquity” and **עֹונָם** “their help.” It has one circumlocution with **אַחֲתָה אֶשְׁתָּה** “the first lady,” meaning **אֱלֹהָה** “the premier goddess.” Because the **אַחֲתָה אֶשְׁתָּה** was to be enshrined in Babylon there is no basis to interpret the removal of her image to Shinar as the symbolic legitimization for deporting Babylonian women from Judah.

Thematically this vision resonates with the henotheism assumed in Deut 4:19, 29:26 and 32:9 (MT). Other gods had their designated lands, but **חָלַק יְהוָה עַמּוֹ יַעֲקֹב חָבֵל נְחִלָּתוֹ** “Yahweh’s portion is his people, Jacob his allotted heritage.”

NOTES

1. Petersen (1984: 254) limits his discussion of Marenof to a footnote, stating: “Ingenious though this suggestion was, it has not found general acceptance.”
2. Note KBS II: 799, which cites the Arabic cognate [I, II, and IV] “to help,” without citing any occurrences in Hebrew. The MT **מְעוֹנָך** or **מְעוֹן** in Ps 71:3; 90:1; and 91:9 has been recognized by Ben Yehuda (1908: 3155), Zorell (1956: 455), Kopf (1958: 187–188), and Dahood (1968: 172, 322, 333) as being derived from **עֹנוֹן**, the cognate of **עֹונָם** “to help, give succor,” and has been equated with the nouns **مَعْوَن** (*mi^cwân*) and **مَعْوَنَة** (*ma^cûnat*) “help, aid.” The

‘אֵלֶּה of Zech 9:9, coupled with נָשָׁר “savior,” is probably from this root also.

3. Note Lane’s (1863: 27) comment: “أَحَد (’ahad), without the article, is used as an epithet specially in relation to God.” The feminine תְּהִלָּה would appear to be an epithet in Hebrew for a goddess figure, even though תְּשִׁירָה appears in lieu of the anticipated תְּהִלָּה or תְּלִילָה.

XXVI
THE SETTING STAR
IN MATTHEW 2:9

INTRODUCTION

Commentators have puzzled over the need for a star to help the magi travel from Jerusalem to Bethlehem. Beare (1981: 80) commented, “. . . it is hard to imagine how a star could give any kind of guidance over such a short distance (ten kilometers), or how it could be imagined as standing still over a little village, and even over a particular cottage.” Similarly, a few years later Davies and Allison (1988: 246) pondered, “. . . why would one need supernatural guidance to make the six mile trek from the capital to Bethlehem? And how could a heavenly light be perceived as standing over a precise place, seemingly a particular house?” Beare did not bother to answer the questions he raised, and Davies and Allison answered their two questions by adding a third, “Or do these questions stem from an unimaginative and overly literal interpretation of Matthew’s text?” They indirectly answered their third question in the affirmative by calling attention to the very imaginative interpretations of Clement of Alexandria and Chrysostom, among others, who equated the star with an angel or had the star descend until it actually stood over the infant’s head.

However, there are some likely answers to the questions raised by Beare, Davies, and Allison. But, in lieu of wild imagination and a disregard of the literal meaning of the text, a bit of controlled philological inquiry permits the text to be read quite literally and logically.

THE GREEK AND HEBREW TEXTS

The text of Matt 2:9 in the *Hebrew Gospel of Matthew* (Howard 1995: 6) probably holds the key. The relevant part of the Greek text to be compared with the Hebrew text reads

ό ἀστήρ, ὃν εἶδον ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ,
προῆγεν αὐτούς, ἔως ἐλθὼν ἐστάθη
ἐπάνω οὗ ἦν τὸ παιδίον.

the *star* which they had seen in the East
went before them, until it *stood*
over the place where the child was.

Even though the ἵστανται in the Septuagint was used to translate thirty-six different Hebrew words, there is no ambiguity about the meaning of οἱ ἀστέρες ἵστανται “the star stood.”

But when a graphically similar phrase appears in Hebrew, there is unintentionally an ambiguity about the meaning the text. For example, Matt 2:9 in the Shem Tob *Hebrew Gospel of Matthew* (Howard 1995: 6–7) reads

הכוכב אשר ראו במורה
חולך לפניהם
עד בואם אל המקום
וכאשר באו בית לחם
עמד נגד המקום אשר שם הילד

the *star* which they had seen in the East
was going before them,
until they came to the place.¹
When they entered Bethlehem
it *stood* before the place where the child was.

When **הכוכב** and **עמד** are joined as subject and verb (cf. Sir 43:10, στήσονται κατὰ κρίμα = קְ[the stars] stand

as ordered”), the phrase may mean “the star stood.” But **עָמַד** can have two other meanings. It can be the cognate of Arabic **عَمَدَ** (*‘amada*) which is used with reference to the dawning of the day, as in the expression: **عَمُودُ الصُّبْحِ** (*amūdu ‘asṣubhi*) “the bright gleam of dawn, the dawn that rises and spreads, filling the horizon with brightness” (Lane 1874: 2153). Were this the cognate, **הַכּוֹכֶב עָמַד** could mean something like “the star gleamed,” suggesting in the context of Matt 2:9 that when the magi came to Bethlehem a *burst of starlight* signaled the magi that they had reached their destination.

On the other hand, **הַכּוֹכֶב עָמַד** could mean that “the star set/disappeared.” This would be the required meaning were the cognate of **עָמַד** the Arabic **غَمَدَ** (*gamada*) “to conceal” which is used (1) for *sheathing* a sword, (2) for thorns being *concealed* by leaves, (3) for wells having their water *covered* by dirt, (4) for the sky being *obscured* by clouds, (5) for a cloth put over something to *conceal* it from the eyes of another, (6) for *concealing* something with a veil, and (7) in the expression **أَغْمَدَ اللَّيلَ** (*iḡtamada’allayla*) “he entered into [the darkness] of the night” (Lane 1877: 2291). In light of this evidence it is reasonable to conclude that **עָמַד**, stem II, could also be used “to cover or conceal a star, to engulfed (a star) in darkness” or for a star “to set.”

Moreover, the Syriac **ܐܴܬܰܳ** (*‘āmad*) “to set, to go down” is the cognate of **غَمَدَ** (*gamada*) and **עָמַד**, stem II, as proposed here. The **בְּבֹאֵת־שְׁמַשׁ** “about sunset” in II Sam 3:35 and I Kings 22:36, appears in the Syriac as **ܒܾܱܲܰܳ ܴܰܰܲܳ** (*kad di‘ēmad šemša³*). The basic meaning of the Syriac root is “to plunge, to sink, to set” (used with the *sun* or *stars* or *day*), as well as “to immerse or to baptize” (R. Payne Smith 1901: 666; J. Payne Smith 1957: 416).

CONCLUSIONS

Although ὁ ἀστήρ ἐστάθη can only mean “the star stood,” Hebrew עמד הכוכב can, in light of Arabic and Syriac cognates, mean (1) “the star stood,” or (2) “the star gleamed” or (3) “the star set.” Given the fact that the magi came from the East, it would be quite natural for the traditions of the magi to have been written or remembered in language of the East, namely, in Aramaic. Even though Jastrow (1903: 1086) does not cite any occurrences of עמד used in Western Aramaic for the “setting” of the sun or the stars, the Syriac (Eastern Aramaic) evidence is compelling.

With support from the Shem Tob Hebrew text of Matthew, the Hebrew *Vorlage* can be reconstructed and translated as

הכוכב אשר ראו במוֹרָה הַוְלֵךְ לִפְנֵיכֶם . . .
כַּאֲשֶׁר בָּאוּ בֵּית לְחֵם עַמְּדָה
נִנְדֵּן הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר שָׁם הַיְלֵךְ

the *star* which they saw in the East went before them

. . . just as they came to Bethlehem
—right there where the child was—
it *set*.

When the Eastern tradition of the magi was introduced into Western tradition, the original meaning of עמד—the cognate of غمد (*gamada*) “to be engulfed in darkness” and בגדה (*‘emad*) “to go down, to set”—was lost. And, as is obvious from the Greek text, the עמד in its *Vorlage* was understood as the more widely used verb meaning “to stand.”

A star somehow standing over a manger, as though it were a laser beam from infinity, appears to be the result of a mis-translation of a Hebrew / Aramaic source. If it was in Hebrew

the should have been given the meaning attested in Jos 10:12–13, where the MT וַיָּרֶח עַמְד . . . וַיַּעֲמֹד הַשְׁמֵשׁ should be rendered “and the moon had been engulfed in darkness . . . and the sun set.”² If the source was in Aramaic it should have been understood as the Syriac בָּמָד (*‘ēmad*) “to set.”

The ambiguity of הַכּוֹכֶב . . . עַמְד adds credibility to the tradition. It is most unlikely that the ambiguity would have originated in a fiction fabricated in Judean or Galilean Hebrew, in which case one would expect נִסְתַּר “the star set” (the opposite of הַלֵּךְ “the star went” or, in the language of Num 24:17, דָּרַךְ פָּוֹכֶב “the star marched forth”).

The ὁ ἀστέρι ἐστάθη “the star stood” remains problematic. But recognition of a Hebrew *Vorlage* to Matthew opens up avenues of inquiry which are very productive. Hebrew homographs have long been the bane of the interpreter; but they frequently are the key for recovering the meaning of the text.

NOTES

1. This phrase has no equivalent in the Greek text tradition. It is a misplaced phrase belonging to the end of 2:7, to be read as

וַיְשַׁאַל מִהֳם הַיּוֹב זָמָן רָאִית
הַכּוֹכֶב לְהֵם עַד בָּוֹאָם אֶל הַמָּקוֹם
he asked them well concerning the time the star
appeared to them until their coming into his territory.

The וְכָאשֶׁר of הַמָּקוֹם came from the וְ of the following וְכָאשֶׁר. The unrecorded answer probably set the age limit “from two years old and under,” as mentioned in Matt 2:16.

2. See Chapter X above.

XXVII

WHAT NOT TO DO WITH A LAMP

INTRODUCTION

The Greek synoptic gospels, along with the *Gospel of Thomas*, are in agreement that the place for a λύχνος / Λυχνία [luxnias] “lamp” is on a λυχνία / Λυχνία [luxnias] “lamp-stand.” The Shem Tob Hebrew *Gospel of Matthew* concurs with the Greek and the Coptic traditions, stating that the נר “lamp” was placed on a מנורה “lamp stand.” But there are five different ideas in the tradition as to what people do *not* do with a lamp, including the fact that people do not place a lamp (1) under a bushel, (2) or under a vessel, (3) or under a bed, (4) in a hidden place (5) or in a cellar. The question to be addressed is whether Jesus’ made multiple statements using different terms on different occasions, or did he make one statement which was interpreted in multiple ways in the Gospels and tradition. The six relevant texts for review follow (with the key words in bold font).

PROBLEMATIC TEXTS

Matthew 5:15

They do not light a lamp to put it in a **hidden place** (בָּמִקְוֹם נִסְתָּרֵךְ) where it cannot shine, but they place it on a lamp stand (המִנְוֶרֶה) so that it might shine for all in the house.”¹

Nor do men light a lamp and put it under a **bushel** (μόδιον),² but on a stand (λυχνίαν),³ and it gives light to all in the house.”⁴

Luke 8:16 and 11:33

No one after lighting a lamp covers it with a **vessel** (<σκεύει),⁵ or puts it under a **bed** (<κλίνης),⁶ but puts it on a stand (<λυχνίας), that those who enter may see the light.”

No one after lighting a lamp puts it in a **cellar** (<κρύπτην)⁷ or under a **bushel** (<μόδιον), but on a stand (<λυχνίαν), that those who enter may see the light.”⁸

Mark 4:21

And he said to them, “Is a lamp brought⁹ in to be put under a **bushel** (<μόδιον), or under a **bed** (<κλίνην), and not on a stand (<λυχνίαν)?”

Gospel of Thomas Logia 33

No one lights a lamp and puts it under a **bushel** (<מַאֲגָם [maage]), nor does he put it in a **hidden place** (<מְאֵגֶהֶן [maefhep]), but sets it on a lampstand (<לֻחְנִיאָה [luxnia]) so that all who come in and go out may see its light.¹⁰

OBSERVATIONS

The first observation is that the Shem Tob text is not a translation of the Latin *sub modio* nor of the Greek ὑπὸ τὸν μόδιον “under a bushel.” Surprisingly, the נְסָתָר בָּמָק֔וֹם “hidden place” of Shem Tob agrees with the מְאֵגֶהֶן [maefhep] “hidden place” of *Logia 33* and the κρύπτην “hidden/secret place, cellar” of Luke 11:33. If the text of Shem Tob were a translation from the Latin or Greek, as some scholars insist, it is very difficult to explain why the translator misunderstood the common word μόδιον/*modio*,

“a measure for grain” and ended up with a “secret/hidden place.”

Luke’s different doublets, “vessel” and “bed” followed by “cellar” and “bushel,” do not match Mark’s doublet of “bushel” and “bed” or the doublet of “bushel” and “hidden place” in *Logia 33*. The “Q” source might account for Matthew’s “bushel” and Luke’s “bushel,” but as currently defined, “Q” cannot account for Luke’s four-fold “vessel,” “bed,” “cellar,” and “bushel”—nor the “hidden place” in the Shem Tob text and in the Gospel of Thomas Logia 33.

Since “Q” provided no help in understanding the differences in this saying of Jesus, commentators have given only passing attention to them. Davies and Allison (1988: 477) compared Matt 5:15 with Luke 11:33 and simply raised the question: ‘But what of εἰς κρύπτην (= ‘in a cellar’, ‘in a dark and hidden place’ or ‘grotto’; cf. Josephus, Bell. 5.330)?’ There was, however, no answer given to the question. They simply made two assertions: (1) that κρύπτην is not found in the Septuagint and is a *hapax legomenon* in the New Testament, “and so not obviously from Luke”; and (2) “one may doubt whether ‘under the bed’ (or: bench?) first stood in the saying.” Mann (1986: 268) noted only that Matthew and Mark agree in substance, without any mention of the five variants in the tradition. He concluded, “The saying is somewhat enigmatic, for making the point that the function of the lamp is to give light does not accord well with the earlier text (4:12), which suggest that in some fashion the revelation is deliberately hidden.”

ORTHOGRAPHIC AND LEXICAL ISSUES

All the variations of this saying can be accounted for by a written Hebrew/Aramaic *Vorlage* which was understood in different ways, depending of the reading of one letter as either a נ or a ד and a second letter as a י or a ו. The Hebrew Bible has a number of *Qere/Kethib* variants reflecting scribal confusion of י or ו, as in Prov 23:5 where the חתונָה was to be read as חתונִי “you make [your eyes] flutter,”¹¹ and the עינִי (sic) was to be read as עינָה “he will fly.” A *Qere/Kethib* variant reflecting a misreading of a נ and ד occurs in Jer 35:11, where the MT אֲרָם “Aram” was read as אֶדְם “Edom” in the Syriac tradition.¹²

The variants “bushel,” “vessel,” “bed,” “cellar,” and “hidden place” may simply go back to a Hebrew/Aramaic word spelled either סוד or סיד / סיר. The ambiguously written word would have been one of the following well attested words:

- (1) Syriac سَوْدَة (*sawdā*^o or *sûdā*^o) “a measure for grain, less than a pound.” The Hebrew/Aramaic cognate would be סוד or סודא.¹³
- (2) Syriac سَادَة (*sē wad*) “a rug, a divan-cushion,”¹⁴ which is related to the Arabic وساد (*wisâd*) “a pillow or cushion.”¹⁵ The Hebrew/Aramaic cognate would be סוד or סודא.
- (3) Hebrew/Aramaic סֵיר (*sîr*) “a pot, water pot, a utensil for boiling,” as in 2 Kings 4:38–41. It would be equal to Greek σιρός and Arabic زِير (*zîr*).¹⁶

(4) Hebrew סֶוד (sôd) “a foundation, a secret place, a base.”¹⁷

CONCLUSION

The *Vorlage* of the Hebrew Matthew of Shem Tob probably had at one time סֶוד “in a hidden place” in its text. Given the ambiguity of סֶוד, which could also be (a) “a foundation,” (b) “a measuring container,” or (c) “a cushion,” the synonym סָתָר “secret place” replaced the original סֶוד in the *Shem Tob* text. The Greek Matthew understood the סֶוד / סָתָר in its *Vorlage* to be סָתָר, (1) above. The uncertainty of the reading produced a doublet in Luke 8:16 derived from סָתָר and סֶוד, (3) and (2) above. In Luke 11:33 a conflation of סָתָר and סֶוד, (4) and (1) above, appeared. Mark’s Hebrew source read the סֶוד as סָתָר and סֶוד, (1) and (2) above. However, the Gospel of Thomas reflects a tradition which conflated סָתָר and סֶוד, (1) and (4) above.

The κρύπτην “hidden place” of Luke 11:33, the מִקְוָם “hidden place” of Matt 5:15 of Shem Tob, and the μαεψχηπ [maefshēp] “hidden place” of *Logia* 33 reflect the obvious: people do not light a lamp to hide the light. Were darkness preferred, lamps would not be lit in the first place. Were the saying focused on fire-safety, a reminder that careful people do not put a lighted lamp under flammable containers, cushions, or sleeping mats would make sense. But Jesus’ focus was not on fire-safety. The μόδιον “bushel” and the κλίνης “bed,” both of which could be flammable, are not likely to have been the intended meaning of the original סֶוד.

Luke's "covering the lamp with a vessel" ($\sigma\kappa\epsilon\acute{\nu}\epsilon\iota = \text{רִס}$), instead of "putting the lamp under a vessel" may be a logical adjustment since the רִס , as suggested by its Arabic cognate, could have been a water jar which was nearly pointed on the bottom, making it difficult to put anything under it. By turning the vessel upside-down, the wide upper part of the vessel would easily cover and extinguish the lamp.

These observations and interpretations lead to the conclusion that Jesus did not make multiple sayings about lamps on lamp stands, but his one statement was open to multiple readings once it was written down in a script in which a נ and ל and a ' and נ were easily confused.

NOTES

1. This is the translation of the Hebrew text of Shem Tob Ibn Shaprut (Howard 1987: 16–17; 1995: 16–17). On the use in Hebrew of the third person masculine plural for a personal indefinite (i.e., "people generally") see GKC 144^e.
2. Liddell and Scott: 1140, "= Latin *modius*, a dry measure, = 1/6 of the corn-measure called $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\delta\iota\nu\circ\acute{\iota}$. Arndt and Gingrich (1957: 527) defined this Latin loanword as "a peck-measure."
3. Liddell and Scott: 1067, "lamp stand."
4. Hill (1972: 116) conjectured, "The impersonal plural ('men light . . .'), which is infrequent in Greek (save in special *legousi* ['men say'] phrase) but common in Aramaic, and use of the definite article ('under *the* measure . . . upon *the* lamp stand') to denote a single person or thing as being present to the mind under given circumstances (an acknowledged Semitism) suggest the Aramaic origin and authenticity of the saying." The same conclusion was

expressed earlier by Black (1967: 126–127) and later by Gundry (1994: 77). See above, note 1, for the Hebrew use of the indefinite personal 3mpl.

5. Liddell and Scott: 1607, “vessel or implement of any kind.”
6. Liddell and Scott: 961, “that on which one lies, couch, used at meals or for bed.”
7. Liddell and Scott: 1000; Arndt and Gingrich: 455; Oepke 1966: 959, κρύπτω “to conceal something, to keep secret, to keep something from being seen; κρυπτός “hidden, secret, a hidden thing, a hidden place”; κρύπτη “a dark or hidden place, a cellar.”
8. The phrase οὐδὲ ὑπὸ τὸν μόδιον is omitted by p^{45} p^{75} L Ξ 0124 f1 700 al sy^s sa (UBS: 260) and the NEB. Marshall (1978: 488) suggested that the phrase “could be due to assimilation to the parallels; but the structure of Mark 4:21 suggests that the original wording had two phrases as here (of which Matthew has omitted one).”
9. Gundry (1993: 212–216) suggested that the Greek ἔρχεται may reflect the Aramaic **תַּחַת** in the *'Ittaphal* form meaning “was [the lamp] brought?” W. Lane (1974: 165) rendered this verse quite literally, “Does the lamp come for the purpose of being placed under the measure or under a couch? Does it not come for the purpose of being placed on a lamp stand?”
10. Guillaumont 1959: 22–23. Crum 1939: 212–213, noting that **מָאָגֶה** [maage] also means “ear.” Some have conjectured that the scribe’s intent was to write **מָאָגָה** / μόδιον “bushel.”
11. Note **נִעְפָּע** “eyelid,” perhaps from “fluttering.” While **נִעְפָּע** means “to fly” and **נִעְפָּע** means “to faint” (BDB 733, 746), **נִעְפָּע** and **נִעְפָּע** stem III (not cited in BDB) is the cognate of Arabic **عَيْفٌ** and

عوف (*c yf/c wf*) which Lane (1874: 2198, 2212) defined as “[birds that] circled over a thing, or over the water, or over carcasses or corpses . . . going to and fro and not going away, desiring to alight.” This derivation is well supported by the Sumerian proverb cited by Scott (1965: 143) “Possessions are sparrows . . . in flight which can find no place to alight.” The פָעַל **עִיר** and פְנַזֵּן **עַל** in Pro 23:5 reflect paronomasia rather than repetition.

12. The confusion of פָעַל and פְנַזֵּן and the confusion of יְלִבָּה and יְלִבָּה is widely attested with many examples compiled by Delitzsch (1920: 103–104 § 104^{a-c} and 105^{a-c}).

13. J. Payne Smith 364. On the loss of the נ in Hebrew, see GKC §23^f.

14. J. Payne Smith 363. This word occurs in Hebrew and Arabic although the Hebrew is not cited in Jastrow or BDB. For the Arabic see the next note.

15. Lane 1893: 2940, “a pillow, or cushion upon which one reclines, or rests . . . anything that is used as a pillow or put beneath the head, whether of household-furniture or stones or earth.” Hava (1915: 868) and Wehr (1979: 1250) cite the verb **وَسَدَ** (*wassad*) “to place a pillow beneath the head.” The loss of the initial י in the Syriac and Hebrew cognate would be like the loss of the ה of يَسُورَدْ “foundation” in the by-form سُورَدْ “foundation” (BDB 696).

16. BDB 696. Liddell and Scott (1966:1601) defined σιρός as “a pit for keeping corn.” Lane (1867: 1276) defined زِير (*zir*) as “a large water jar, wide in the upper part and nearly pointed at the bottom.”

17. Jastrow 961. For the variants מָסֶד, יִסְׂדֵר and מָסֶד see BDB 414.

XXVIII

A REAPPRAISAL OF THE “PEARLS” IN MATTHEW 7:6

I. INTRODUCTION

The aphorism “like a gold nose-ring in a wild pig’s snout is a pretty woman who lacks good manners” (Prov 11:12) has influenced many interpretations of Matt 7:6. Given the fact that Jewish sentiment about swine could be summed up in the saying בֵּית כָּסָא מַטוּלָּל הוּא חֲזִירָא,¹ “a pig is a moving privy,”¹ Prov 11:12 obviously contains a ridiculously unreal image of a bejeweled pig to address the ridiculous reality of uncouth beauty. Similarly, it has been argued that Jesus, in stating “do not give dogs what is holy, and do not throw your pearls to pigs,” utilized obviously unrealistic activities as a way of calling for proper discrimination in making judgments,² or proscribing the evangelizing of Gentiles,³ particularly the Romans,⁴ or the Samaritans,⁵ or anyone indisposed or unprepared for the gospel.⁶

The enigmas of Matt 7:6 are not in the prohibitions per se, since the ban against the disciples’ going to the Gentiles and the Samaritans is clearly given in Matt 10:6, “do not travel the road of the Gentiles, and enter not the towns of the Samaritans.”⁷ The difficulties are threefold: (1) the artificiality of the imagery, (2) the imbalance of two elements in the parallelism (“the holy” in parallel with “pearls”), and (3) the variations of the saying found in the Coptic *Gospel of Thomas*⁸ and the 14th century Hebrew text of Matthew in Shem Tob’s *Even Bohan*.⁹

Perles,¹⁰ followed by Jeremias,¹¹ Schwarz,¹² and others,¹³ suggested that τὸ ἀγιον renders an original Aramaic אַשְׁדָּק “ear-ring, nose-ring.” Their proposals provide suitable parallels and complete synonymous parallelism: “Give not a (precious) ring to dogs, and cast not your pearls before swine” and “Hang not (precious) rings on dogs, and adorn not the snout of swine.”

While these retroversions of 7:6a do justice to poetic balance and parallelism, they are themselves problematic. They produce prohibitions against behavior which common sense precluded. They lack any literal significance and have no clear metaphorical meaning or relationship to the violence insinuated in 7:6b, “lest they rend you.” However, when retroversion of all words in 7:6 are explored, more apparent parallels become evident and explicit non-enigmatic prohibitions emerge which resolve the differences found in the Greek text, the *Gospel of Thomas*, and the Shem Tob text of Matthew.

One cannot be dogmatic about particular lexical possibilities or even the priority of Hebrew or Aramaic as the language of preference.¹⁴ A strong case has been made for a Hebrew substratum for the Gospel of Matthew,¹⁵ and a particularly good case can be made for Matt 7:6, since an aphorism pertaining to תֹּורָה “Torah” might well be have been given in the language of the Torah, even though the vernacular was Aramaic.

The retroversion of μαργαρίτας in the second prohibition to Hebrew תורה or תֹּורָות provides the key to understanding Matt 7:6, rather than the retroversion of τὸ ἀγιον to the Aramaic אַשְׁדָּק “ring.” If טָהוֹר “pure, holy,” stands behind τὸ ἀγιον, as argued below, תורה or תֹּורָות provides alliteration

and an attractive wordplay. By contrast, the Aramaic אָזְרִיאָא “instruction, the Law” would provide alliteration but no word-play.¹⁶

In the discussion which follows Aramaic and Hebrew retroversions are provided and lexical support is drawn from Semitic cognates where appropriate. Immediately beneath the section headings II–V, below, appear the RSV translation and the Nestle-Aland Greek text, followed by a retroversion into consonantal Hebrew and Aramaic. These are followed by vocalized Hebrew and Aramaic retroversions (which remove all ambiguities in the consonantal text) and my translation of the retroversions.

II.

“Do not give what is holy to the dogs”

μὴ δῶτε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυσίν
 אל תנתנו הטהור לכלבים
 אל תורח קדושא לכלביא
 אל תנתנו הטהור לכלבים
 אל תורח קדושא לכלביא

“Do not give the holy (word) to the dog-keepers”

“what is holy” / “the holy (word)”

Miche¹⁷ cited the biblical and rabbinic evidence for understanding τὸ ἅγιον in Matt 7:6 as a reference to sacrificial meat which was not to be used for dog food (Ex 29:33; Lev 2:3, 22:10–16; Num 18:8–19; and Deut 12:15).¹⁸

The Septuagint translators used ἅγιος to translate twenty-one words, sixteen of which are unrelated to the stem קָדֵשׁ. For example, in Lev 10:14 the Septuagint reads ἐν τόπῳ ἅγιῳ “in (any) holy place” for MT בַּמְקֹם טָהוֹר. Hebrew טָהוֹר “holy, pure” is an attractive option for a retroversion of τὸ ἅγιον in Matt 7:6. The rabbinic restriction אֵין מַשְׁלִיחִין τὸ ἅγιον, “you must not send what is pure by the hand of a commoner,”¹⁹ is similar enough to Jesus’ prohibition that τὸ ἅγιον could well have rendered טָהוֹר. The connotation of טָהוֹר in Ps 12:7 provides an attractive parallel:

אמירות יהוה אמירות טהרות

“the commands of Yahweh (are) holy commands”

τὰ λόγια κυρίου λόγια ἀγνά (LXX 11:7).

In Ps 19:8–10 we have similarly,

תורת יהוה תמימה . . . מראת יהוה טהורה

“the Torah of Yahweh is perfect . . .

the command of Yahweh is holy.”²⁰

The use of **טָהוֹר** in Ps 12:7 and Ps 19:8–10 is analogous to these texts which have **קָדֵשׁ**:

“his holy word” (Ps 105:4) דבר קדשו

“his holy words” (Jer 23:9) קָדְשׁוֹ כָּבָרִי

"I swore by my holiness" (בְּדִוֵּי נָשָׁרֶת Ps. 89:36)

בְּבָרֶךְ בְּבָדֵשׁוֹ “he spoke by his holiness” (Ps 60:8; 108:8)

A similar usage of ἀγίων νόμων and ἀγίαν γνώσιν is reflected in II Macc 6:28–30, “I leave to the young a noble example of how to die . . . for the reverend and holy laws (τῶν σεμνῶν καὶ ἀγίων νόμων) . . . it is clear to the Lord in his holy knowledge (ἀγίαν γνώσιν) . . . that I am glad to suffer these things.” Thus, the תֹּרְהָה, אֱמֹרָה, מִקְרָאָה and בְּרִית of Yahweh are הַוָּרְטָה in the same way that the γνώσις and νόμος are ἀγίος. Any or all of these words, used in the singular, the plural, or as a collective could be rendered by the neuter collective τὸ ἀγιον.²¹

Consequently, even though τὸ ἀγιον in Matt 7:6 could mean sacrificial meat or ceremonially pure food, it is more likely an ellipsis for “the holy word of Yahweh,” like the ιερὰ γράμματα (2 Tim 3:15), the Aramaic אֲזֶנְתִּים, and the English “Scripture”—all meaning “sacred writings.” Lachs²² arrived at a similar conclusion (but differed with his retaining μαργαρίτας as a metaphor), stating: “The meaning is, do not teach Torah, i. e., that which is holy to the non-Jew . . . Do not present that which is holy, i.e., the biblical passages or any nuggets of ‘wisdom’.” Additional support for the first part of Lach’s conclusion is offered below in section III.²³

“to the dogs” or “to dog-keepers”

In Babylonian myth dogs functioned as agents of the gods and in Greek mythology κύων was a term used for the servants, agents, or watchers of the gods—like Pan who was the κύων of Cybele. A similar positive role given to dogs is encountered in Jewish tradition. According to Tobit 5:17 (MSS BA), 6:1 (MS S), and 11:5, a dog accompanied the angel Raphael on his mission to heal Tobit’s blindness, to

bind the demon Asmodeus, and to be a “match-maker” for Sarah and Tobias. In Jewish lore golden dogs kept watch over the coffin of Joseph, and two brazen dogs were stationed at the temple gate to prevent the misuse of the Ineffable Name.²⁴

However, κύων in the Greek world²⁵ and כלב in the Semitic world were frequently terms of disparagement. The self-deprecating words of Hazael to the prophet Elisha, “what is your servant the dog . . .” (II Kings 7:13) are like those in Lachish Letter II, “to my lord . . . who is thy servant (but) a dog that my lord hath remembered his servant?”²⁶ Such expressions parallel self-effacing Akkadian confessions (e.g., “I am the dog of the king,” “your slave, your dog, your subject,” and “I used to be a poor man, a dead dog”)²⁷ and Akkadian invectives and pejoratives like *minum sun[uma] ka-al-bu* “What are they? [Nothing] but dogs!”²⁸

There is more than a hint of the pejorative in Jesus’ reply to the Syro-Phoenician woman (Matt 15:26–27), “I was sent only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. . . . It is not fair to take the children’s bread and throw it to the ‘little dogs’ (κυναρίοις).”²⁹ The type of food fit for the κυνάρια (both literally and metaphorically) can be found in Ex 22:30 of Targum Neophyti I: “you [Israelites] shall not eat flesh torn from a wild beast, killed in the field; you shall throw [תטלקין] it to the dog, or you shall throw it to the gentile stranger [דָהוֹא מַדְמֵי נִכְרִיָּה בֶּן עַמְמֵי], who is likened to a dog [לַכְלָבָא],” which is an expansion of the MT, “you shall not eat any flesh torn [by beasts] in the field, (but) you shall throw it to the dog.”³⁰

In Isa 56:10–11, Phil 3:2, and Rev 22:15 “dogs” refer to the wicked in general, while in Psa 22:17 and in Psa 59:7 they refer to the enemy, and in Enoch 89:41–50 they indicate the

Philistines in particular. But the pejorative use of פָּלָב was not restricted to strangers and gentiles in general.³¹ A sexual nuance is evidenced in Arabic *كُلْتَبَان* (*kaltabân*) “pimp” and كُلْب (*kaliba*) “to function as a pimp.”³² In Deut 23:18–19, “dog” and “prostitute” are equated with the קְדַשָּׁה and the קְדַשָּׁה, the male or female hierodule involved in cultic sexual activity.

The pejorative “dog” was used by Rabbi Yannai who said to an effusive dinner guest unable to answer questions on Scripture and Talmud, “a dog has eaten Yannai’s bread!”³³ In a dialogue between Rabbi Akiba and his disciples, Rabbi Akiba recalled, ”when I was an עַם הָאָרֶץ [a commoner] I said, ‘I would that I had a scholar [before me], and I would maul him like an ass.’” To this his disciples replied, “Rabbi, say ‘like a dog’.”³⁴ Although neither Akiba nor his disciples equated the עַם הָאָרֶץ with a dog, the עַמִּי הָאָרֶץ could well have been called dogs since they were elsewhere equated with vermin and beasts:

Let him not marry a daughter to the עַם הָאָרֶץ, because they are detestable and their wives are vermin, and of the daughters it is said, “Cursed be he that lieth with any manner of beast” (Deut 27:21).³⁵

The following Talmudic prohibition approximates a ban on entrusting the holy word to the עַמִּי הָאָרֶץ who, as noted, were called dogs:

We do not commit testimony to them [i.e., to the עַמִּי הָאָרֶץ]; we do not accept testimony from them; we do not reveal a secret to them; we do not appoint them as guardians for orphans; we do not appoint them stewards

over charity funds; and we must not join their company on the road. Some say, “We do not proclaim their losses too.”³⁶

If human testimony could not be entrusted to the **עמי הארץ**, how much more so sacred tradition needed to be protected from profanation. Jesus’ prohibitions in Matt 7:6a were apparently addressing this issue of protecting sacred texts and traditions—making the prohibitions more than a Halakic expansion on Ex 22:31, which deals simply with meat, or Ex 29:33, which deals with consecrated food. Jesus’ prohibitions can be understood as a fence around the **תורה** (= **תורה**) (**תורת**), keeping it/them safe from undesirables like the **עמי הארץ**.

However, these prohibitions of Jesus may not have used the word meaning “dogs,” either literally or figuratively. The Greek κυσίν of Matt 7:6 may reflect a misreading of the Hebrew or Aramaic *Vorlage*. While **כלבייא** or **כלבים** could mean “dogs,” they could just as well be **כלבייא** or **כלבים** *qattal* noun forms used for a vocation or profession, like Syriac **كلاب** (*kallā bā'*) “dog-keeper” and the Arabic **كالب** (*kallâb*) “dog trainer” (in contrast to **كالب** [*kâlib*] “owner of dogs”).³⁷ If the original **כלבייא** or **כלבים** in the *written tradition* stood for **כלבִּיא** or **כלבִּים** “dog-keepers,” rather than **כלבִּיא** or **כלבִּים** “dogs,” the Greek text should have read τοῖς ἔχοντας instead of τοῖς κυσίν.

The retroversion and translation offered here, “do not give the holy (word) to dog-keepers,” assumes the tradition intended **כלבִּיא** or **כלבִּים**, and this interpretation restores an explicit literal prohibition to safeguard sacred tradition. The

restoration accords well with a Talmudic comparison which equated dog owners with swine herders: “the one who breeds dogs (המגדל כלבים) is like one who breeds swine (המגדל חזירים).”³⁸ Such breeders or owners were unfit to handle the *Torah* (see below, notes 49–53).

III.

“nor throw your pearls before swine”

μηδὲ βάλητε τοὺς μαργαρίτας ὑμῶν

չմարզօսթւն տան չօկան

וְאַל תُורו תֹרַתְכֶם לִפְנֵי הַזָּרִים

וְלَا תָאַרְוּן אֲוֹרִיְתָא דִילְכוֹן קָדֵם חַזְרִיאָא

וְאַל תُורו תֹרַתְכֶם לִפְנֵי הַתְּזָרִים

וְלֹא תָאַרְוּן אֲוֹרִיְתָא דִילְכוֹן קָדֵם חַזְרִיאָא

“and do not teach your *torah*

in the presence of swine-herders”

“do not throw” / “do not teach”

In the Septuagint βάλλειν was used to translate twenty different Hebrew words, most of which could be used in a retroversion here. Even though אל תשימו appears in the Shem Tob text and וְלֹא תָרֻמְעַן [welâ tarmûn] appears in the Syriac, the verb of choice is יַרְחֵה if one anticipates a wordplay and alliteration.³⁹ Hebrew יַרְחֵה has a wide semantic range including “to throw, to teach, to rain, to shoot” and the following varied derivatives: מַזְרָה “instruction,” “teacher,” and מַזְרָה “archer,” and יוֹרָה “rain.” The negative

imperative, אל תורו, could mean “do not teach,” or “do not throw,” or “do not shoot.” The choice depends upon the object of the verb, which in this case would most likely have been a synonym of, or a parallel to, τὸ ἅγιον.

תורתיכם (τορόθικμ) / “your Torah” / “your pearls”

Even though a tradition emerged that the temple candelabrum had 183 pearls and 200 precious stones, μαργαρίτας “pearls” is not a synonym of, or a parallel to, τὸ ἅγιον “the holy.”⁴⁰ In addition to the Greek loanword or מַרְגָּלִיטִיס, פְּנִינִים⁴¹ and מַרְגָּלִית, other Hebrew words for “pearl” are דָּוָר and תָּוָר. The latter noun is cognate to the masculine and feminine nouns in Arabic, در (durr), درر (durar), درة (durrat), درات (durrât), all meaning “a (large) pearl.”⁴²

Hebrew כֶּר was used in Esther 1:6 in the description of the courtyard of the Susa palace: “[there was] . . . a mosaic pavement of porphyry, marble, mother-of-pearl [כֶּר], and precious stones.” The variant הָזֵר appears in Cant 1:10, “how beautiful are your cheeks with pearls, your neck with beads!”⁴³ The interchange of כ and ה is well attested in other words.⁴⁴ Interestingly, the interchange occurs with the homographs and homophones תָּוָר / דָּוָר “generation” in I Chron 17:17 (“you have shown me future generations”) and its parallel account in II Sam 7:19, where תָּוָר הָאָדָם and תָּוָר הָאָדָם appear in these two texts instead of the anticipated דָּוָר הָאָדָם. These texts illustrate well not only the interchange of כ and ה but also a gender shift in parallel texts.⁴⁵

The Hebrew or Aramaic *Vorlage* behind the τοὺς μαργαρίτας ὑμῶν of Matt 7:6 must have contained the Hebrew or Aramaic homograph תָּוָרְתָּכֶן / תָּוָרְתָּכֶם (sg.) or / תָּוָרְתָּיכֶם

תורתיכו (pl.), which could mean either “your teaching(s), your *torah*” or “your pearl/pearls.”⁴⁶ The retroversion of 7:6a to

אֲלֹתֶתֶנוּ הַתְּהוֹרוֹת . . .
וְאֲלֹתֶרֶתֶם תְּהוֹרוֹת . . .

restores a very understandable prohibition and provides the desiderated parallel to τὸ ἀγιον.

Once חזירים and כלבים in the *Vorlage* were understood to mean “dogs” and “swine,” rather than “dog-keepers” and “swine-herders” (see below), it is not surprising that תורה/תורה was read as “pearl/pearls” rather than as “Torah” or “teachings.” Any prohibition against teaching Torah to an animal, particularly to dogs and pigs, would have been considered inane.

The plural, if original, could be a reference to the law and the prophets (as in Matt 5:17) or to the (a) תורה שבכתב and (b) תורה שבבעל פה (i.e., the written and oral Torahs,⁴⁷ or to the Torah and the Halakah.⁴⁸ Either way, singular or plural, the prohibitions of Matt 7:6 were apparently concerned with the issue of protecting the Torah and Halakah, an issue which was frequently addressed in later Talmudic tradition, including:

- (a) Wine reveals the secrets of God and men to foreigners (just as I revealed the commands of God and the secrets of my father Jacob to the Canaanite woman Bathshua); and God told us not to reveal them [the secrets] to them [the foreigners].⁴⁹
- (b) The teachings of the Torah are not to be transmitted to an idolater (גוי), for it is said: “He hath not dealt so with

any nation; and as for his ordinances, they have not known them” (Ps 147:20).⁵⁰

(c) Whoever studies (engages in) the Torah in front of an עם הארץ is as though he cohabited with his betrothed in his [the הארץ] presence.⁵¹

(d) Just as this treasure (**סימה**) is not revealed to everyone, so you have no right to devote yourself [to the exposition of the] words of Torah except before suitable people.⁵²

(e) [R. Johanan said] “a heathen (**גוי**) who studies Torah deserves to die, for it is written, ‘Moses commanded us a law for an inheritance’ (Deut 33:4); it is our inheritance, not theirs.”⁵³

“to the pigs” / “before the swine herders”

References to dogs and pigs as a fixed-pair appear frequently in Semitic texts. Similar to English “fight like cats and dogs” is an Akkadian text which reads, “if dogs and pigs fight each other . . .”⁵⁴ This fixed-pair appears in Isa 66:3, “who breaks a dog’s neck . . . who offers swine’s blood,” and in Tractate Sabbath 155b, “none is more poor than a dog, none is richer than a swine.”⁵⁵

The uncertainty in knowing if **כלב** is to be read “dog” or “dog keeper” is also encountered with consonantal חזיר, which can be either חזיר (*scriptio defectiva*) or חזיר, which can be either רעה חזירין and מגדל חזירין. Even though רעה חזירין and מגדל חזירין were used for the “pig breeder” and “swine herder,” Aramaic חזירא is also attested. One cannot preclude, therefore, the likelihood that Hebrew חזירים would be חזירים “swine herders.”⁵⁷

Talmudic discussion about rearing dogs in towns bordering on Israel paired dog-breeders and swineherds: ‘he who breeds dogs [מגדל חזירין] is like someone who breeds swine [רעה חזירין].’ Both breeders could be referred to by the pejorative עם הארץ or ὄχλος, in a manner similar to that found in Jn 7:49, ὁ ὄχλος ὅντος ὁ μὴ γινώσκων τὸν νόμον ἐπάρατοι εἰσιν, “this mob which does not know the Torah is accursed.”

The extent to which precaution was made to keep swine herders away from the sacred traditions is reflected in a midrash telling of Diocletian’s unhappy experiences when, in his youth, he came near the academy of Rabbi Judah.⁵⁸

Diocletian the emperor used to be a “swine-herd” near Tiberias and whenever he came near Rabbi’s school [**סדריה דרביה**] students would come out and hassle him [**מחיים ליה**].

When Diocletian became emperor, and these students were adults, they were summoned before him and admitted their harassment, “Diocletian the swineherd we did indeed insult [**קילינו**] but to Diocletian the emperor we are loyal subjects.”

Jesus’ refusal (Matt 8:28–34; Mk 5:1–20; Lk 8:26–39) to let the Gadarene demoniac become a disciple may also reflect his putting a “fence” around Torah and Halakah. It was one thing for Jesus, while in the vicinity of swine herds and swineherds, to heal the Gadarene and to instruct him, “Υπαγε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου πρὸς τοὺς σοὺς καὶ ἀπάγγειλον αὐτοῖς ὅσα ὁ κύριός σοι, “go home to your friends, and tell how much the Lord has done for you!” But it was another matter to accept a **תلمיד** “disciple” from a community renowned for its pig farms. In this respect swine herders were

treated differently than fishermen. It was not a matter of Jesus' withholding the "gospel" from the Gadarenes or the Gerasenes, but one of disinterest in having a פָּלָמִיד learning and discussing Torah and (his) Halakah from a community of swine herders.⁵⁹ To have responded otherwise to the Gaderene would have surely created insurmountable problems of credibility in the Judean community in which Jesus also ministered.

IV.

"lest they trample them under foot"
 μήποτε καταπατήσουσιν αὐτούς
 אֵן תָּסַרְצֶנָּו אַתָּה
פָּנָן מִטְרִיפִים אֹתָה בָּרְגָּלִיָּהּ
דִּי לְמָא מִטְרִיפִין יְתָה בָּרְגָּלִיהָן
פָּנָן מִטְרִיפִים אֹתָה בָּרְגָּלִיָּהּ
דִּי ?מָא מִטְרִיפִין יְתָה בָּרְגָּלִיהָן
 "lest, blaspheming it with their slander."

The second half of the aphorism reflects not so much a misreading of an original Hebrew or Aramaic *Vorlage*, but a literal rendering of metaphors. The imagery of the Greek text simply creates a picture of the senseless loss of pearls, with no hint of the desecration of sacred traditions. Consequently, the Semitic metaphor behind the "trampling under foot," has gone unrecognized.

The Septuagint καταπατεῖν translates sixteen Hebrew words meaning "to tread, to trample," and these do not exhaust the lexical possibilities for reconstructing the *Vorlage*.

Burney’s retroversion, following the Syriac text, has טוֹד “to tread under foot, to transgress or violate” as in עֲזַבְתָּנִים (‘ettedišû qannûne’) “the canons were violated, set at nought.”⁶⁰ But בָּזֵב “to trample, to despise” and its by-forms, or even קָרַס could also be used.⁶¹ Were קָרַס “to tread, to attack with paws or claws” the word of choice, an implicit wordplay with קָרְשׁ “to interpret, to expound” would be introduced: swineherds and dog-keepers would more than likely קָרַס the Torah, rather than קָרְשׁ it.

The verb טְרַף, chosen for the retroversion here, is supported *indirectly* by (1) the Coptic κοπρία of the Gospel of Thomas (“do not give what is holy to dogs, lest they throw them on the dung-heap [κοπρία]”) and (2) the Hebrew יְכַרְסָמָנוּ “they chew it” of the Shem Tob text.⁶² At first glance it is somewhat difficult to relate יְכַרְסָמָנוּ אֶתְהָ לְעֵינֵיכֶם “they chew it to your eyes” to καταπατήσουσιν ἀντούς ἐν τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτῶν “to trample them with their feet.” The verb כְּרָסֵם “to bite, to nibble, to destroy” reflects the influence of Psa 80:14, “the boar (חַזִיר) from the forest chews on it (יְכַרְסָמָה).”⁶³ If the Shem Tob text were a translation from the Greek, it would require a *Vorlage* having some form of καταπέσσω, καταπίνω, καταπονέω, or κατάποσις “to gulp, to swallow, to digest,” or the like. But the Shem Tob text יְכַרְסָמָנוּ is better explained by variations in a Hebrew or Aramaic substratum than by conjectured variants in the Greek tradition.

It is possible to account for the variations in Matt 7:6 in the Greek, Hebrew, and Coptic text traditions by a retroversion of καταπατήσουσιν to the root טְרַף/תְּרַף stem I (with the interchange of ט and ת like תְּעַהַת and טְעַהַת “to wander, to err”).⁶⁴ Aramaic טְרַף/תְּרַף, stem I, means “to blaspheme, to

deviate from the right, to use obscene language,” with the Aramaic בֵּית תָּרַפְאָ meaning “pudenda.”⁶⁵ In Hebrew the root appears in פְּרִפּוֹת “foulness, obscenity, debauchery.” By contrast, טְרִף/תְּרִף, stem II (normally with a ט), means “to move with vehemence, to knock down, to prey, to strike or tear, to eat or devour.”⁶⁶

Although טְרִף/תְּרִף (stem I) “to blaspheme” was intended in the Hebrew or Aramaic *Vorlage* of Matt 7:6, Greek translators, followed by Syriac and Latin translators, opted for טְרִף/תְּרִף (stem II) “to trample.” This was a logical choice once חזרים was read as “swine” rather than “swineherds.” By contrast, Shem Tob or his predecessors resolved the ambiguity of טְרִף/תְּרִף stems I, II, and III (see below) by substituting כָּרֶסֶם, a synonym of טְרִף/תְּרִף stem II, collocated with חזיר in Ps 80:14 (noted above).

Similarly, the κοπρία “dunghill” in the Coptic Gospel reflects a *Vorlage* with טְרִף/תְּרִף (stem I), a synonym of צֹאָה “excrement, filth.” Although טְרִיפִיּוֹן “laxative” is found in post-Biblical Hebrew, מְדֻמָּנָה and מְדֻמָּן (= מְטֻרָף “dunghill” in Jer 48:2 and Isa 25: 10) is *not* found in Biblical Hebrew. However, the causative participle מְטֻרִיף/מְטֻרִיף “blaspheming” could have been understood as a noun with the locative מ preformative, “a place of filth,” i.e., a dunghill.

Moreover, the בְּרִגְלֵיכֶם, לְעִינֵיכֶם in all but one manuscript of the Shem Tob Matthew, can be traced to the stem طְרִיף stem III. Widely attested in Arabic are طرف (*tarafa*) “to eye, to wink, to move the eyelids” and (tarf) “eye” (= طرف = עין).⁶⁷ The עִינֵיכֶם “your eyes” in the Shem Tob text is a *false* correction of the primitive Hebrew Matthew. Thus, the

יכרְסָמוּ לְעֵינֵיכֶם in the Shem Tob text can be viewed as a doublet for the original מִתְרַפֵּים (or variant יִתְרַפֵּי), with the לְ and כֶם of לְעֵינֵיכֶם being secondary additions in the Shem Tob tradition.

Consequently, the canonical καταπατήσουσιν “they trample,” the Coptic κοπρία “dunghill,” as well as the Shem Tob יִכְרְסָמוּ “they eat” and לְעֵינֵיכֶם “to your eyes,” can be accounted for by recognition of the stem טְרַפֵּ / תְּרַפֵּ in a Hebrew or Aramaic *Vorlage* of Matthew. Therefore, the conclusion of Perles and Lachs that μήποτε καταπατήσουσιν “lest they trample” was *not* part of the Jesus’ original saying (since it presupposes the mistranslation of Hebrew וְאַל תُזְרֹעַ as μηδέ βάλητε “nor throw”) cannot really be sustained.⁶⁸

“under their feet” / “with their slander”

The Hebrew רְגֵל “to slander” (which is a denominative of רַגֵּל “foot”) is very helpful in understanding ἐν τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτῶν. The verb רְגַל appears in the MT of II Sam 19:28, “he has slandered [וַיַּרְגַּל] your servant to my lord, the king,” and in Psa 15:3 “who does not slander [לֹא רְגַל] with his tongue.” The Shape of Syriac ܪܲܓܲܠ (rēgal) means “to ensnare,” and the Arabic قاذرة (rigl) is a synonym of قاذرة (qâdûrat) “a man of foul language and evil disposition who cares not what he says or does.”⁶⁹

Even though the original בְּרַגְלֵיהֶם “with their slanders” survives in only one Shem Tob manuscript, there is sufficient support from the Greek text tradition for its being in a Hebrew or Aramaic *Vorlage* of Matthew. To be sure, the phrase “with

their feet” is an anomaly with the verb כָּרַסֵּם “to chew.” However, רְגֵל is a very appropriate modifier of טֹרֶף / תֹּרֶף, stem I, “to blaspheme,” once רְגֵל is recognized as “to slander” rather than רְגֵל “foot.”

V.

“and turning they rend you”
 καὶ στραφέντες ὑπέξωσιν ὑμᾶς
 וְחוֹזְרִים יִקְרֻעُ אֶתְכֶם
 וְחוֹזְרִין יִקְרֻעֻן יַחֲכוּן
 וְחוֹזְרִים יִקְרֻעֻוּ אֶתְכֶם
 וְחוֹזְרִין יִקְרֻעֻוּ יַחֲכוּן
 “and disavowing it, they malign you”

“turning” = “changing one’s mind” = “disavowing (it)”

The imagery in Matt 7:6, as interpreted here, is more than a literal about-face of frightened dogs and scared pigs turning to attack those who throw gems at them or put nose-rings on them. In the Septuagint στρεφέν “to turn” translates גָּלַל, שׁוּב, שָׁבֵב, פָּנָה, הַפְּקָד, גָּרָר. But στρεφέν in Matt 7:6 was probably a translation of Hebrew/Aramaic “to go round, to return, to revoke,” which appears in the Shem Tob text. Opting for תָּזַר “to change” provides a nice wordplay with תָּזַר “swine herder.”⁷⁰ The nouns תָּזְרָה and תָּזְרָה and the verb תָּזַר, may indicate someone’s making an about-face, having a change of heart, or making a retraction or a reversal of judgement.⁷¹ In Matt 7:6 the change of heart would be analogous to the “about-face” mentioned in *Pesahim* 49b: “he who has studied and then abandoned the Torah hates the

teacher more than any **עם הארץ** [“commoner”] hates the teacher.”⁷²

The Shem Tob manuscripts BCH, in contrast with manuscripts ADEFG, have **אותה** following the verb **חוֹר**. Thus, there is some uncertainty whether the idea expressed was originally “changing [their minds] they malign you” (following the participle and aorist of the Greek text) or “they disavow *it* [3fs = the Torah] to malign you” (following the imperfect and sequential infinitive of Shem Tob).

In the Septuagint ρήγνυμι “to shatter, to rend” translates **ברע**, **פתח**, **חרס**, **בקע**. Of these verbs, **ברע** (which appears in the Shem Tob text) was used literally and figuratively in Biblical texts. Examples include Hosea 13:8, “I will tear open their breast . . . I will maul them like a lion,” and Psa 35: 15b–16a, “smilers gather about me, and they whom I did not know ‘tore me to pieces’ [**κρεύ**] and did not desist from slandering me [**βαχνεψι**], for MT [בָּחַנְפִּי], my encircling mockers gnashed their teeth at me.”⁷³

In the retroversion of Matt 7:6, the literal meaning of **ברע** “to maul” would make sense if the subjects of the verbs were literally “dogs” and “swine.” But the metaphor **ברע** “to malign, to slander” is required if κυσίν and χοίρων are themselves metaphors, or (as proposed above) go back to a *Vorlage* with **כלבים** “dog-keepers” and **חזירים** “swine herders.”

VI.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The prohibitions in Matt 7:6, if they were spoken by Jesus in Hebrew, could have been written in a consonantal text as

אל תנתנו הטהור לכלבים ולא תרו תורהם לפני החזירים
פָּנִ מְטֻרֵיפִים אֹתָה בָּرְגַּלְיָהֶם וְחַזְרִים אֲתָה יִקְרָעֵו אֲתָכֶם.

Were they given in Aramaic, they could have been

אל תוהב קדשא לכְּלָבִים ולא תאָרוֹן אוֹרְיִיתָא דְּלְכָן קָדָם
חַזְרִיא דֵי לְמָא מְטֻרֵיפִין יִתְה בָּרְגַּלְיָהֶן וְחַזְרִין יִקְרָעֵו יִתְכּוֹן.

There are *unintentional* ambiguities in these consonantal reconstructions, even though *scriptio plena* has been used. Several of the words can have more than one meaning, depending on the vocalization. If these reconstructions approximate the *Vorlage*, the translators of the Greek text read חַזְרִים and כְּלָבִים in the *Vorlage* as “dogs” and “pigs.” But could just as readily have been read “dog-keepers” and “swine-herds.” With the exception of Aramaic “Torah,” the unpointed retroversions can be translated into *koine* Greek precisely as Matt 7:6 appears in the Greek text, recognizing that singular/plural differences could simply reflect *scriptio defectiva*/*scriptio plena* variations.

If these retroversion into Hebrew and Aramaic prove reasonable, the following vocalizations warrant serious consideration. The Hebrew reconstruction can be vocalized as

אל תַּפְנֵנו הַטְהוֹר לְכָלְבִים וְאֶל תָּרוּו תָּרְנַתְכֶם לְפִנֵּי הַחַזְרִים
פָּנִ מְטֻרֵיפִים אֹתָה בָּרְגַּלְיָהֶם וְחַזְרִים יִקְרָעֵו אֲתָכֶם.

The Aramaic reconstruction, with the same meaning, can be

אל תֹּהֵב קְדוֹשָׁא לְכָלְבִיא וְלֹא תָּאוֹרוֹן אוֹרְיִיתָא דִילְכּוֹן קָדָם
חַזְרִיא דֵי לְמָא מְטֻרֵיפִין יִתְה בָּרְגַּלְיָהֶן וְחַזְרִין יִקְרָעֵו יִתְכּוֹן.

These pointed retroversions can be translated:

Do not give the holy (word) to dog-keepers,
and do not teach your *Torah* before swine-herders,
lest, blaspheming it with their slander
and disavowing it, they malign you.

If the **כלבים** and **חזירים** are “dog-keepers” and “swine-herders,” the meaning of the prohibition is straightforward. According to Talmudic tradition, reciting the *Shema*^c in the proximity of dung was prohibited.⁷⁴ Consequently, prohibiting those who worked with offal and filth from handling τὸ ἄγιον, i.e., the *הטהורה הגדולה* “the holy *Torah*,” appears quite reasonable. Even though the keepers of dogs and swine contributed indirectly to the production of Torah scrolls (since canine and porcine excrement was used in the process of tanning the leather for the scrolls),⁷⁵ they were not to deal with the text of the *Torah* or its interpretation.

Like the healed Gaderene demoniac (who was told, “go home to your kinfolk and declare to them how much the Lord has done for you”), the **כלב** and the **חזר** was able to become a “disciple,”⁷⁶ witnessing to one’s personal experience of God’s grace, as in Mk 5:19, “Υπάγε . . . καὶ ἀπάγγειλον “go . . . and declare.” But dog-keepers and swine-herders could not become **פָּלמִידִים** or διδάσκαλοι “disciples” studying Torah and Halakah.

The prohibitions in Matt 7:6 are similar to the following ones in the Manual of Discipline:⁷⁷

Do not admonish or dispute with the “men of the pit”⁷⁸ [אָנָשִׁי הַשְׁחָתָה], conceal the counsel of the *Torah* in the

midst of the “men of perversity” [אָנָשִׁי הַעֲוֹלָה], but admonish with true knowledge and righteous law those who chose the way Now these are the rules of the way for the wise man in these times, with regard to his love as well as his hate. Let there be eternal hatred toward the “men of the pit” [אָנָשִׁי הַשְׁחָתָה] in the spirit of secrecy. (DSD ix. 17)

Josephus recorded that an Essene swore to communicate to no one the doctrines of the sect except in the manner in which they were received, even on pain of death.⁷⁹ Thus, Jesus’ virtual silence before Pilate (Matt 27:11–14; Mk 15:2–5; Lk 23:2–5) was consistent with his putting a fence around the Torah and (his) Halakah when he was in Pilate’s court in the presence of חֶזְרִים and כָּלְבִים—figuratively speaking—whose intentions were to impugn and malign him.

It seems highly doubtful, therefore, that the prohibitions of Matt 7:6 were intended as (1) riddles couched in the imagery of bejeweled animals or (2) humorous figures of speech permitting one to proscribe, as one pleased, the proselytizing of Gentiles, giving the Eucharist to the those who were not baptized (*Didache* 9:5), or keeping “nuggets of wisdom” from the Samaritans or the Romans.

This “reappraisal of the pearls” leads to the conclusion that the pearls in Matt 7:6 originated in a misunderstanding in the Matthean tradition of תּוֹרָה / דּוֹרָה “Torah” as “pearl or mother of pearl.” The shift from “pearls” to “Torah” restores Jesus’ prohibitions as an explicit ban on activities that could compromise the Torah and Halakah. This is precisely the kind of tradition one might expect Matthew to have included in his gospel given his agenda and his initial readers—who would

have appreciated Jesus’ assertion, “think not that I have come to abolish the law and the prophets; I have come not to abolish them but to fulfill them” (Matt 5:17).

NOTES

1. Schwab (1969: 38) translated, “a pig which is a moving uncleanness.” Note also Simon and Epstein (1960: 25a), where it is stated, *פי חזיר כצוץ עובה רת* “the mouth of the swine is like moving filth.”
2. Bruce 1983: 86–87.
3. Albright and Mann 1978: 84.
4. Gnilka 1986: 258. It should be noted with Krause (1914, 5: 15) that “there is reason to believe that this [symbolization of Rome as a pig in rabbinic literature] came into prominence only since the time of Hadrian and the fall of Betar (135 C.E.) since, in order to insult the Jews, the image of the pig was attached to the south gate of Jerusalem which had been transformed into the Roman colony, Aelia Capitolina” (cited by Braverman 1978: 94). Epstein (1885: 33) called attention to Rome’s worship of deities associated with Mars, which was depicted as a swine. Ginzberg (1925, 5: 294, n. 162) noted that the association of the Romans and pigs is rooted in the Roman legions’ emblem of the wild boar.
5. Lachs (1987:139) identified the “dogs” as the Samaritans and the “swine” as the Romans. If Lachs were correct, it would be difficult to account for the affirmative Samaritan stories (like the Samaritan woman at the well [John 4:4–30] and the parable of the good Samaritan [Luke 10:29–37]), as well as the influential role of Stephen, who, according to Spiro (1967: 285–300), was a Samaritan.

6. Sabourin 1982: 427.

7. Beare (1981: 342) thinks Matt 15:26, “It is not fair to take the children’s bread and throw it to the dogs,” is a retrojection into the life of Jesus of attitudes held by zealous members of the Jewish Christian community in the apostolic age. In this respect, Beare differs with Michel (1966: 1102–1004) and Bultmann (1961: 107) who regard Matt 7:6 as one of the “profanen Meshalim die wohl erst durch die Tradition zu Jesuworten gemacht sind.”

8. Guillaumont (1956: 48–49); Robinson (1977: 128). Logia 93 reads, “do not give what is holy to dogs, lest they throw them on the dung-heap (*κοπρία*).”

9. Howard (1995: 28–29). Matt 7:6 reads (with variants appearing in brackets)

אל תנתנו בשר קדש לכלבים
וזאל תהסימו פניכם [פנינכם, פנינייכם]
לפני חזיר [חזירים, החזירים]
פָן יכְרֹסְמָנוּ [יכְרֹסְמָנָה] אֲוֹתָה [אֲוֹתָם] לְעֵינֵיכֶם [בְּרַגְלֵיכֶם]
יִיחֹזְרוּ אֲוֹתָה לְקַרְעָ אֲתָכֶם.

This was translated by Howard as follows (with “you” and “yours” being masculine plurals):

Do not give holy flesh to dogs
nor place your (pearls) before swine
lest (they) chew (them) before you and turn to rend you.

Howard’s translation is a good example of making the Shem Tob text follow the canonical Greek text. A literal translation, including variants in brackets, is “do not give holy flesh to dogs nor place your face [your pearl, your pearls] before a pig [pigs, the pigs] lest they chew it [them] to your eyes [with their feet] and they turn it to rend you.” (See also note 49.)

10. Perles (1926: 163–164) following the Syriac of Gen 24: 47, he translated, “Hängt den Hunden keine Ringe an und legt nicht eure Perlen am Rüssel der Schweine,” from the retroversion:

לَا תַהֲלוֹן קְדִשָּׁא לְכָלְבֵיָא וְלֹא תְרֻמֹּן מֶרְגַּנִּיתְכּוֹן בְּאָפִי חַזִּירִיא.

11. Jeremias 1963: 271–275 and 1966: 83–87. His retroversion was

לَا תַהֲלוֹן קְדִשָּׁא לְכָלְבֵיָא
וְלֹא תְרֻמֹּן מֶרְגַּלִּיתָא דִילְכּוֹן בְּאָפִי חַזִּירִיא

“Legt den Hunden keinen Ring an
und hängt eure Perlen (schnüre) nicht an die Rüssel
der Schweine.”

Jeremias rejected the earlier proposal of Zolli (1938: 154f) that the μαργαρίτας reflects an Aramaic “beads” (after חַרְוֹזִים in Canticles 1:10) in a wordplay with חַזִּירִיא. Nevertheless, as argued below, Canticles 1:10 provides the clue for the interpretation of μαργαρίτας in Matt 7:6.

12. Schwarz 1972: 18–25. He proposed, “Legt eure Ringe nicht den Hunden an; Und hängt eure Perlen nicht den Schweinen um,” based upon the Aramaic retroversion:

לَا תַהֲלוֹן קְדִשִּׁיכּוֹן לְכָלְבֵיָא וְלֹא תְרֻמֹּן מֶרְגַּלִּיכּוֹן לְחַזִּירִיא.

13. Fitzmyer (1979: 14–15) considered the קְדִשָּׁא retroversion plausible in light of 11QtgJob 38:8, “they gave him each one a lamb and a ring (קְדִשָּׁא) of gold.” Note the reservations of Black (1967: 200–201).

14. See Grintz 1960: 32–47, and Fitzmyer (1979: 7, 22, 45–46) who asserted,

As for the language that Jesus would have used, the evidence seems to point mainly to Aramaic. There is little cogency in the thesis of Harris Birkeland and others who maintain that it

was normally Hebrew Presumably, Jesus used Hebrew on occasion. (22 n. 36)

Hurst (1986: 71) noted, “One of the most important results of recent research into Aramaic close to the time of Jesus is the knowledge that we still know so little of the language spoken by Jesus.” One must question the assumption that Jesus was monolingual. If he was multilingual it could still be asserted we know so little of the *languages* spoken by Jesus.

15. See Howard 1986: 49–63, which deals with the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew by Jean du Tillet, and 1987: 155–160. (See above, note 9, for a summary of the evidence supporting a Hebrew substratum for Matthew. With reference to the Shem Tob text of Matthew, Howard (1987: 180) noted:

The evidence as a whole presupposes a Hebrew text of Matthew that existed from ancient times and was used among the Jews for polemical purposes against Christians. Through centuries of use this text went through a process of evolution which included stylistic modifications and changes designed to bring the text into closer harmony with the canonical text used by Christians.

16. See Howard 1987: 194–201; 1995: 184–190 for a list of puns, word connections, and alliteration in the Shem Tob text of Matthew.

17. Michel 1966, 3: 1102.

18. Even though בָשָׂר קָדְשׁ appears in the Shem Tob text, τὸ ἄγιον need not be understood simply as “sacrificial flesh.”

19. *Tosefta D’Mai* II:20 (Zuckermanel 1963: 48).

20. Following Dahood (1966: 123–124) who attached the final פ of the preceding יְרָאָת יְהוָה to עֲנִים to read יְהוָה מַرְאָת יְהוָה. He cited

the Ugaritic *mr^o* (see Gordon 1965: 437, #1543) (cited as *UT*) and Aramaic נִמְלָא “to command.”

21. See GKC §123^b. On the collective in Greek, see Robertson 1914: 404 and 1310.

22. 1987: 138–139.

23. See Goulder 1974: 278. His conclusion, “to a Christian his fellows are ἀγνοι; to utter a false report of them . . . would be like casting them to the dogs,” reflects the difficulty in making sense out of the aphorism when viewed as a metaphor.

24. Braude and Kapstein 1975: 211; and Ginzberg 1925, 5: 15–16. According to the Jerusalem Talmud (*Terumot* 46a [8:7]), Rabbi Meir and Rabbi Joshua ben Levi debated whether the friend and helper alluded to in Prov 16:7 was the dog or the snake (see Avery-Peck 1988: 392–393). Note the discussion and bibliography on the significance of dogs from Mesopotamian to Greece in Thompson 1970: 83–87.

25. See Liddell and Scott 1966: 1015, sub II; and on the use of ὑς “wild pig” as a pejorative, see 1904. Note also Scholz 1937: 7ff, (cited by Nussbaum 1986: 414, 510). Margalith (1981: 491–495) argued that “. . . it may be assumed that *kalbu* [in Mesopotamian texts] was not a metaphorical self-abasing use of the quadruped’s name, but simply a synonym of ‘slave.’ It is thus that we find the word used in the Old Testament. . . .” See also Firmage 1992, 6: 1130–1135 (“Dogs”) and 1143–1144 (“Pigs”).

26. Pritchard 1955, 322.

27. Gelb 1959–1971, 8: 69–70. (Cited as *CAD*.)

28. *CAD* 8: 72. See also Thomas 1960: 410–427; Paul 1993: 242–244.

29. Like the servant of Lachish Letter II, the woman accepted the pejorative and deprecated herself in order to receive favorable attention. However, it is surprising that the non-pejorative diminutive κυναρίον was used rather than κυών. This may reflect a misreading of קָלִיב (= קָלִיב) “mad dog, importune beggar” as the diminutive קָלִיב (= קָלִיב) “little dog” in the “primitive” Hebrew Matthew. On the diminutive, see GKC, §86^s; Fitzmyer 1965: 361; and Fitzmyer and D. J. Harrington 1978: 184. For the Arabic cognate of קָלִיב “dog, beggar,” see Lane 1885: 2626c. The woman was indeed a קָלִיבָה “a mad dog = persistent beggar,” as well as a קָלְבָה “a dog = gentile.” Her reply, “even ‘beggars’ eat the crumbs that fall from their master’s table,” recalls the beggar Lazarus’ waiting for crumbs from Dives’ table (Matt 15:27; Luke 16:20). Although κυναρίον “little dog” seemingly has its counterpart in τέκνον “little children” (see Michel 3: 1104), the semantic range of τέκνον in the New Testament precludes certainty that in Matt 15:26 it means “children” rather than “disciples” or “the children (of Israel).”

30. See Díez Macho 1970: 147, 474.

31. See Abrahams 1929: 195–196, on the midrash on Ps 4:8, “if it be thus with dogs . . . and the nations of this world are to be compared to dogs, as is said, ‘yea, the dogs are greedy’ (Isa 56:11).”

32. Lane, 1885: 2627b and 2625a. In Greek κυών, χοῖρος, and ὕε were used with double meaning in obscene humor for male/female genitalia (see Henderson 1975: 127, 131–133).

33. *Leviticus Rabbah* 9: 3 (Freedman and Simon 1951: 108–109).

34. Pesahim 49b (Epstein 1935: 237 (cited hereafter as Soncino ed.).

35. Pesahim 49a, Soncino ed., 236.

36. Pesahim 49b, Soncino ed., 238.
37. These nouns are comparable to Aramaic **תָּרַא** “ox-driver, cattle-dealer,” Hebrew **פָּרָשׁ** (**parraš*) “horseman” and **קִנְגָּשׁ** “fisherman,” Arabic **جَمَالٌ** (*jammāl*) “an owner or attendant of camels,” and Ugaritic *hazzar* “swine herder.” On the *qattal* form, see Moscati 1964: 78. For the lexical items, see Jastrow 1656 ; BDB 832; *UT* 402; and Lane, 1865: 461b.
38. Kirzner and Epstein 1964: 83a.
39. See Lachs’ statement (1987: 139) “The Semitic original of Gr. *ballō* is *toru* from the root *yaro* [sic], which means ‘to teach’ and also ‘to throw’.”
40. Ginzberg 1968, 4: 321. On the pearls of the gates of Jerusalem (Isa 54:12 and Rev 21:21), see Dalman 1971: 76.
41. This appears in one manuscript of the Shem Tob text as **פְּנֵי**. The missing נ appears to have been erroneously included in the suffix of the verb **יכְּרַסְמָנוּ** (see above, note. 9).
42. Lane, 1867: 863c; BDB 204. On the interchange of medial **ד** and **ת**, note the stems **בְּדַל** and **בְּתַל** “to separate.”
43. The **תְּרוֹזִים** and **תְּוֹרִים** in Cant 1:10 have been discussed by Pope (1977: 343–344) who appealed to Arabic **خَرَز** (*haraz*) “neck ornament of beads strung together” to explain the Hebrew **תְּרוֹזִים**. He did not relate **תְּוֹרִים** to Arabic **دُرَر** (*durar*) “pearl,” but opted for “bangles” from **תָּוֹר** “to turn.” His citation of midrashic exegesis which identified the **תְּוֹרִים** with the Written Law and the Oral Law, is noteworthy.
44. See, for example, Mendenhall 1975:163–166, who was followed by Mc Daniel 1983: 108–109; 2003: 74–75.

45. See Curtis 1910: 231 for a summary of the problems with this text. Compare Myers 1965: 128–129 and references cited there.

46. It is of interest that five manuscripts of the Shem Tob text have אָוֹתָה, i.e., the particle הִנֵּה with the feminine singular suffix; only one manuscript has אָוֹתָם with the masculine plural suffix (see above n. 9).

47. *Shabbath* 31a, Soncino ed., 139. For a discussion of the oral law at this time see, Neusner 1987.

48. The repeated *feminine* אָוֹתָה (“it” = “pearl/face”) in Shem Tob is noteworthy in support of an original singular noun here. The singular הָאָוֹתָה’s are unexpected in light of the plural τοὺς μαργαρίτας. They may reflect an original singular element in the primitive Matthean tradition. Shem Tob MSS E and F omit אָוֹתָה but have a 3fs suffix on the verb (**כִּרְסַמְנָה**), whereas MS H, with אָוֹתָם, reflects the Greek plural.

49. The Testament of Judah 16:4. See Sparks 1984: 546; Kee 1983: 799; and Charles 1913, 1: 320–321.

50. *Hagigah* 13a; Soncino ed., 75.

51. *Pesahim* 49b, Soncino ed., 237.

52. Jerusalem *Abodah Zarah* 2:7, cited from Neusner 1986, 33: 93.

53. *Sanhedrin* 59a, Soncino edition, 400. Rabbi Meir’s objection is noteworthy, “whence do we know that even a heathen who studies the Torah is a High Priest? From the verse, ‘which if man do, he shall live in them’ [Lev 18:5].” See also *Abodah Zarah* 3a, Soncino edition, 5.

54. *CAD*, Vol. 8, 70. Akkadian *hanziru* and *haziru* are from the roots עַזֵּר and חָזֵר “to help,” unrelated to חֲזִיר “swine.” The Akkadian *humsiru* is a synonym of the Sumerian loanword *šahû*.

55. Soncino ed., 796; note also, “food may be placed before a dog but not before a swine,” 795.

56. In Ugaritic *hzr*, in contrast with *hnzr* “pig,” refers to either the “swine” (*χοῖρος*) or the “swine herder” (*συφορβός*). The Ugaritic text 1091: 6 lists the *hzr[m]* in parallel to a guild designating some type of personnel. Similarly, *hzr* appears as a collective noun in Ugaritic text 1024: rev 4, *tmn . hzr w . arb^c . hršm*, “eight swineherds and four craftsmen.” See *UT* 401, # 948 and 403, #977 and compare Dahood (1968: 259) who views the Ugaritic *hzr*, as a metaphor. On *hnzr*, see Lane, 1865: 732a. Hebrew/Aramaic **חַזֵּיר** (which could be a diminutive [see above, note 28]) was used for Greek *χοῖρος* “young pig” and *δέλφαξ* “mature pig.”

57. See above, note 37.

58. *Midrash Rabbah*, Genesis 63:8 (Freedman and Simon 1951: 563–564, and Edleman 1891: 148–149). The verb **מְחִי** can be stem I, “to interfere, to protest, to try to prevent, to forewarn” or stem II, “to smite, to strike, to slap” (Jastrow, 759). Compare Avery-Peck (1988, 6: 421) who translates the parallel in the Jerusalem Talmud, “Diocles the swineherd—the students of R. Judah the patriarch would make fun of him (**מְהוֹנִיה**).”

59. On the **הלכה** and **גמרא**, see Jeremias 1971: 204–214; and Davies 1964: 392 and 396, n. 1.

60. Burney 1925: 169. Note also R. Payne Smith 1878, 1: 859; J. Payne Smith 1903: 88; and Jastrow, 290.

61. The by-forms are **דָרַס בֶּזֶא**, **בֶּזֶה בֶּסֶא**. Aramaic **דָרַס** means “to trample” and “to treat harshly” (Jastrow 324b; *CAD* 3, 110); the Arabic cognate carries the meaning “to efface, to obliterate” (Lane 1867: 870).

62. See notes 8 and 9.

63. For Hebrew קָרְסָם and Aramaic “to cut, to trim, to bite, to nibble,” see BDB 493 and Jastrow 1424.

64. Note the Aramaic interchange of תּ and ט in the following: טִירְפָּא “a document conferring the right of seizure of a debtor’s property,” and תָּזְרַקְּ “that which makes a debt collectable” (Jastrow, 535 and 1658). The following interchanges are very similar: Arabic تُرْفَة (*turfat*), طَرِيفٌ (*tatrif*) and تُرْفَة (*turfat*) all mean “a rare and pleasing present or food,” and the Hebrew שְׁקָטָן (*šāqat*) is related to the Arabic سَكَتَ (*sakata*), “to be silent, to be at rest, to be tranquil,” with the תּ / ט and קּ / כּ interchanges (see Lane 1863: 304a; 1874: 1844c, 1845a; 1872: 1389–1390, respectively).

65. BDB 382–383 and Jastrow 555–557, 1658, 1702. This stem with the ט appears in the Wisdom of Ahiqar:

אשתחמר פֶּמֶךְ אֵל יְהוָה טְרַפִּי [ט]
guard your mouth,
let it not be (for) obscenities/ blasphemies.

Compare Cowley (1923: 215) “keep watch over your mouth, let it not be [thy] destruction [טְרַפִּי (?)]; and Lindenberger (1983, 73–74, 235 n. 160 and 1985, 2: 500) “But keep watch over your mouth, lest it bring you to grief!” For the Arabic cognate, see Lane 1863: 304.

66. BDB, 382; note the Shem Tob text of Matt 7:15, זָבִים טֹרְפִּים “tearing wolves.”

67. Lane, 1874: 1842. For additional examples of resolving long-standing cruces in the Biblical text, see McDaniel 1983: 262–264.

68. Lachs 1987: 140. Perles (1926: 164) stated,

Der Schluss des Verses μήποτε . . . υμᾶς hat wohl nicht im Aramäischen gestanden, sondern ist erst eine erklärende Glosse zu dem auffälligen griechischen Text, nach welchem man die Perlen den Schweinen nicht vorwerfen soll.

69. Lane 1867: 1045a and 1885: 2498c; J. Payne-Smith, 528.
70. The verb is transitive in the Shem Tob text, followed by **אותה**.
71. Jastrow, 444, 446.
72. Soncino ed., 237, which is here paraphrased because of its terseness. For στραφέντες, see Arndt and Gingrich 1957: 779.
73. Following Dahood 1966: 209, 214. On Ps 35:15, see BDB, 902b “to malign.” Arabic قرع (*qara'a*) means “to impugn the character of someone, to censor, to abuse, to despise, to repel, to reject, to speak against” (Lane, 1893: 2987).
74. *Babylonian Talmud*: Berakoth 25a; see above, n. 1.
75. *Babylonian Talmud*: Berakoth, 25a:

וְלֹא יִקַּרֵא אָדָם קְשָׁר כְּנֶגֶד צוֹאת אֲדָמָן וְלֹא כְּנֶגֶד צוֹאת חַזְרִים
 וְלֹא כְּנֶגֶד צוֹאת כְּלָבִים בָּזְמָן שְׁנָתָן עֹורָר לְתוֹכוֹ .
- For other references, see Ginzberg 1935, 3: 6.
76. For the “solemn technical sense” of ἀπόστολος, see Agnew 1986: 75–96.
77. Burrows 1951, 2: 21ff.
78. Arabic سخط (*sahat*) “to be displeased, to be angered, to show discontent or hatred” (Lane, 1872: 1324c) suggests a wordplay. Note Shem Tob’s reference to religious adversaries in similar language, “In this way glory will come to the Jew who debates with

them [the Christians] whenever he captures them in their own pit (בשוחתן)” (Howard 1987: 177).

79. *Jewish Wars II.* 8. 7:

A candidate to join their sect . . . [must swear] to be ever a lover of truth and to expose liars; . . . to conceal nothing from members of the sect and to report none of their secrets to others, even though tortured to death He swears, moreover, to transmit their rules exactly as he himself received them . . . and in like manner to carefully preserve the books of the sect.

Cited from Thackery 1926–1965: 376–377. See Leaney 1966: 231.

ADDENDUM

The sixth codex of the Nag Hammadi texts, entitled *The Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles*, contains a story about Jesus and his disciples which, seemingly, utilized a wordplay upon תורה “Torah” and דורה / תורה “pearl.” This wordplay lends support to the retroversion of μαργαρίτης to τορά “Torah,” as argued in this chapter. According to the story (Tractate 1, 1–12, 22), the resurrected Jesus appeared to the disciples disguised as a pearl merchant named Lithargoel, meaning “glistening gazelle-stone [of God]”.

The Hebrew roots underlying this name reflect a wordplay on the name Penuel/Peniel, which was taken to mean “pearl of God,” as though the פנו here was the equivalent of פנִי in the *Kethib* of Prov 3:15 and 8:11, “(Wisdom) is more precious than pearls (פנינים). (The variant spellings of פנינים in the Shem Tob text are פניכם and פניניכם [Howard 1995: 45–46]). Krause (1972: 51) stated, “Er wird zwar (S. 5,18) mit ‘der leichte Gazellenstein’ übersetzt, jedoch ist diese Übersetzung falsch. Lithargoël bedeutet ‘der Gott (’ēl) des hellglanzenden (ἀργός) Steines (λιθός)’ und das ist der Gott der Perle.” In disagreement with Krause, Parrot (1979: 214) responded, “Krause takes Lithargoel to be a god’s

name. However, names construed in a similar fashion tend to be those of angels . . . and in later usage Lithargoel was an angel.”

Although Lithargoel had no pearls, he went about the port-city on the island crying, “Margarites! Margarites!” (with the Coptic text having the Greek μαργαρίτης in col. 2: 32 and 3: 12). When the disciples obeyed Lithargoel and made their way to his city (named “Nine Gates”) to receive a pearl at no cost (col. 4: 12), Lithargoel offered them not μαργαρίτης “pearls” (i.e., תורת / דורות) but more תורת “teachings / Torah,” stating

Continue in endurance as you teach . . . give to the poor of the city [of “Habitation”] what they need in order to live, until I give them what is better, which I told you that I will give for nothing (col. 10: 4–12). . . . Do you not understand that my name, which you teach, surpasses all riches, and the wisdom of God surpasses gold and silver, and precious stone(s)? (col. 10: 24–30).

This story, obviously, was not about intentional deception by a “pearl” merchant who had no pearls. It was a didactic drama based on a *double entendre*. This Greek tale which was translated into Coptic was apparently derived from a Hebrew original in which there was a wordplay on תורת “pearls” (which were *not* offered by Lithargoel) and תורת “teachings” which were freely given.

However, while the author of the *Acts of Peter and the Twelve* appears to have used an intentional Hebrew wordplay with תורה / דורה (= תורה = פנינים = μαργαρίτης), the “pearls” in Matt 7:6 (“do not cast your pearls before swine . . .”) originated from an unintentional misreading of תורה “Torah” in the “primitive” Matthean Hebrew tradition as דורה “pearl, mother of pearl.” A translation shift from “pearls” to “teaching” (= *torah*) would restore Jesus’ prohibitions in Matt 7:6 from being at best an ambiguous metaphor to an explicit ban on activities that could compromise the sacredness of the Torah and his teachings. This is

precisely the kind of tradition one might expect Matthew to have included in his gospel given his agenda and his initial readership, as noted above (273).

XXIX

WHO SHOULD BURY THEIR DEAD? MATTHEW 8:22b

INTRODUCTION

Matthew 8:22b

ἄφες τοὺς νεκροὺς θάψαι τοὺς ἄστων νεκρούς
*leave the dead to bury their dead.*¹

ועזוב המתים לקבור מתייהם²
and let the dead bury their dead
(Howard 1995: 35)

and let the next of kin bury their dead
(McDaniel)

The enigmatic phrase “let the dead bury the dead,” written without vowels, in an Aramaic and Hebrew fashion, would be *lt th dd bry th dd*, which makes the phrase all the more obscure. The English *dd* is very ambiguous because it can mean not only *dead* but also *dad*, *dud* (= a person who ‘bombs out’ or an unexploded shell), *dude* (= a fop or cityslicker at a ranch), *dodo* (= a bird, or a fogey, or a dullard), *deed* (= a document or an action), as well as the verb *did*. The options available to the interpreter of *lt th dd bry th dd* are many, including: (1) “let the dude bury the deed” or “let the dad bury the dodo,” or “let the dud bury the dude,” or “let the dad bury the dead,” or “let the dead bury the dead,” etc.—all of which could be “spiritualized” as quaint proverbs about the “spiritual dude, dud, and dodo” who is to bury a “dead dad”

or a “doodad” (assuming a dittography of a *d* in the *Vorlage* of this last example).

The difficulties in interpreting **המתים לקבור מתייהם** is analogous, though the options are fewer. At first glance the Greek and the Hebrew texts above appear to express the same idea. But upon closer examination the Greek and Hebrew texts may well express different ideas, as is reflected in my translation of the Hebrew when compared to that of Howard. The Greek words in Matt 8:22 are as unambiguous as the clause they compose has been inexplicable. On the other hand, two of the four Hebrew words, **מתייהם** and **מתיים**, are ambiguous. Removal of the definite article, the plural possessive suffix, and the plural endings produces the base **מת**. Hebrew lexicons now list two meanings for **מת**: (1) the noun **מת** “a male, a man” (related to the Egyptian *mt*, “male, man, written with a hieroglyphic phallus), a cognate of Ugaritic *mt*, Akkadian *mutu*, and Ethiopic **መት** [mētē] “husband”); and (2) the participle **מת** “a dead (man),” derived from the cognate of Arabic **مات** (*māta*), Syriac **מִתָּא** (*mīt*), and Aramaic **מִתָּא** “to die” (BDB 559, 607) and related to the Egyptian *m(w)t* “a dead man” (Gardiner 1966: 443, 568). However, **מת** may also be derived from the **עַ** stem **מתה** (like **מְפַתֵּח** and **מְפַתֵּח** “complete”), a lexeme which was noted in the lexicons of Castell (1669: 2166) and Simon (1793: 956) but has gone unnoticed in more recent lexicons (BDB 607; KBS 653).³ The definitions of **מתה** given by Castell and Simon, reviewed below, support the translation of the **המתים** in Matt 8:22 given above. In turn, this translation of the Hebrew text has significant implications for the interpretation of the Greek text of this verse.

PROPOSED ARAMAIC *VORLAGEN*

Davies and Allison (1991: 57) understated the case when they noted that the seven Greek words in Matt 8:22 and Luke 9:60 are “so scandalous, many scholars have refused to take them at face value.” As I have surveyed the literature, including the studies of Klemm (1969–1970) and Kingsbury (1988), it appears that no one has taken the Greek text at face value, including Davies and Allison who professed “that it is prudent to accept the text as it stands,” and then concluded that Jesus “simply asserts that the disciple should leave it [the burial] to others.” But to interpret νεκρούς as “others” is *not* to accept the text as it stands, but is one more attempt, in the words of Davies and Allison (1991: 57), “to convert a dramatic and memorable imperative into a palatable pedestrian utterance.”

Some scholars argued that the Greek reflects a (mis)translation of an Aramaic *Vorlage* which may have read in part אַהֲרֹן לְךָ בְּתֵרִי וְשָׁבֹוק מִתְּהִיא קְבָרֵין מִתְּהִוָּן (Dalman 1935: 153; Jeremias 1971: 132) which corresponds to the Greek; or שָׁבֹוק מִתְּהִיא לְמַקְבָּרִי מִתְּהִיא “*Laß die Toten den Toten gräbern*” (“Leave the dead to the grave diggers”) (Schwarz: 1981: 275). Other proposed corrections in translation include the following (in chronological order):

Let the dead past bury its dead.⁴

Laß die Toten ihrem Totengräber

Leave the dead to their ‘grave-diggers.’⁵

Let the undecided bury their dead.⁶

Let the young men bury the dead.⁷

Leave it to the men of the town.⁸

The city will bury the dead.⁹

Albright and Mann (1971: 95), assuming a Hebrew *Vorlage* and recognizing that Hebrew **המְתִים** means “the dead” or “the dying,” translated the phrase “let the dying bury the dead.” However, all of these reconstructions have been dismissed by Davies and Allison (1991: 57), by Kingsbury (1988: 55), and by Keener (1999: 275). Kingsbury noted, “The Achilles’ heel of this interpretation is, of course, that the reconstructed Aramaic original is a pure figment of scholarly conjecture.”

PARAPHRASTIC INTERPRETATIONS

But the reconstructions of an Aramaic *Vorlage* for Matt 8:22 and Luke 9:60 are not the only figments of scholarly conjecture evoked by these verses. Many interpreters, unimpressed with the Aramaic reconstructions, keep ἄφες τοὺς νεκροὺς θάψαι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νεκρούς as the *ipsissima verba* of Jesus, only to confess that Jesus did not mean literally what he said. What he said was seemingly a kind of **ନ୍ତର୍ମ** (the Persian loanword meaning a “secret” or “mystery”) which required an interpretation (**ପରିଚାର**), like the **ମନା ମନା ତକଳ୍ ଓ ପରିଚାର** (“50 shekels, 50 shekels, a shekel, and a half shekel”) (Dan 5:25). As a result, some interesting paraphrastic interpretations have emerged from commentators who, following in Daniel’s footsteps, have offered their **ପରିଚାର** in order to reveal the intent of Jesus’ command to the disciple.¹⁰

A survey of some of the paraphrases of what Jesus said or meant, follows in a list from the shortest to the longest

quotation. Although the Greek text has Jesus using seven words, the interpretations, even with ellipses, range from eight to sixty-two words.

[Follow me,] That business must look after itself.¹¹

Let the ‘spiritually dead’ see to such concerns.¹²

Cut yourself adrift from the past when matters
of present interest call for your whole attention.¹³

Leave the matter of his father’s burial
to take care of itself.¹⁴

Those who are wholly consecrated to God
have even more important things to do.¹⁵

Leave the spiritually dead to bury their own physical dead;
that is, Leave the spiritually dead to care for thy aged father
till his death and burial; they can do the work.¹⁶

He [Jesus] is teaching that Christian undertakers are better
undertakers than those who are unsaved . . . if we must make
a choice between being undertakers or disciples, we must do
the latter and leave the former to the unsaved.¹⁷

“You may attend to that duty if no other will do it, but if you
go you must act as one who is not a member of the family,
one who is really exempt (cf. Matthew 17, 22–27), remaining,
in principle, untainted by their deaths and by their mourning.
The “dead” will do their best to bury the dead, but you are not
one of them.¹⁸

These interpretations reflect but another genre of “figments
of scholarly conjecture,” to borrow Kingsbury’s phrase, which
tell us more about the interpreters than about the text or
Jesus’s intent.

מַתָּה THE HEBREW

The Hebrew Gospel of Matthew of Shem Tob Ibn Shaprut, dated around 1400 C.E., which contains elements from an older, if not an original, Hebrew gospel tradition,¹⁹ has simply וְעֹזֶב הַמְתִים לְקִבּוֹר מַתִּים. But the Hebrew may not be as simple as it appears at first glance, for maybe מַתִּים... מַתִּים... may well involve paronomasia rather than repetition. As noted in the *Introduction*, מַתִּים can mean “men” or “dead men” or “next of kin.” It is this last definition of מַתִּה which requires further attention.

Although Castell (1669: 2166) and Simon (1793: 956) referenced מַתָּה, the stem has received scant attention since. Castell noted (1) the Ethiopic cognate መተ/አመታት [mētē / 'āmetātē] meaning “maritus” (husband), “sponsus” (fiancé/bride-groom), “sponsa” (fiancée/bride), and (2) the Arabic مت (matta) “miscuit” (a mixed marriage), “familiam saturavit” (an extended household), and “gradus consanguinitatis, ob quem connubium non potest iniri (a blood relative whom one cannot marry).”

Lane (1885: 2687c-2688a) defined the verb مت (matta) as “he sought to bring himself near [to another], or to approach [to him], or to gain access [to him], or to advance himself in [his] favour by relationship . . . by affection, or by love.” The noun مالية (māttat) meant “anything that is sacred or inviolable . . . which renders one entitled to respect and reverence . . . a thing whereby one seeks to bring himself near.” Lane noted بَيْنَنَا رَحْمَةٌ مَالِيَّةٌ (baynanā rahimun māttat) “between us is a near/inviolable relationship.” These definitions survive to the present in literary Arabic, where مت (matta) means “to

seek to establish a link to someone by marriage, become related by marriage . . . to be most intimately connected with someone,” and the noun مَيْتَةٌ (*māttat*) means “close ties, family ties, kinship” (Wehr 1979: 1045).

In Exo 4:24 the MT reads נִיפְגַּשׁ יְהוָה וַיַּקְרֵב הַמִּיתָּה which has been translated “Yahweh met him and sought to kill him.” In light of the Ethiopic and Arabic cognates of מִתְתָּה—and simply by changing הַמִּיתָּה to מִתְתָּה—the text of 4:24 would mean “Yahweh met him and he sought to make inviolable his relationship.”²⁰

Castell considered the names Amitti (אֲמִתִּי / Αμαθι) and Matthew (Μαθθαῖος / Matθθaios) to be derived from this stem.²¹ If so, מִתְתָּה was not only in the vocabulary of Zipporah and Moses (Exo 4:24), it accounts for the name מִתְתָּה (Matθθa) in Ezra 10:33, as well as the Levitical name מִתְתִּיה (Matτaθia, Μαθθατ, and Matτaθa). Supporting the derivation of מִתְתָּה, rather than נִתְתָּה, are the names Ahijah (אַחִיה) “Yah is my brother/kin” and רְעוֹאֵל “kin/ friend of God.” Hebrew מִתְתָּה, like its Arabic and Ethiopic cognates, denoted a familial relationship, similar to קִנְס “kin, brother, relative” and רֵעַ “friend, fellow, kin.” Thus, while מִתְתִּיה can mean “gift of Yah,” it can also mean the “family of Yah” or the “relative of Yah,” like the affirmation in the name Abijah (אֲבִיה) “Yah is my father” and Ahijah (אֲחִיה) “Yah is my kinsman.”

CONCLUSION

Consequently, the וְעֹזֶב המתוּם לְקִבּוֹר מִתְיָה in the text of Shem Tob Ibn Shaprut, cited above, has at least four

possible meanings: (1) “let the men bury their dead”; or (2) following Howard, “let the dead bury their dead”; or (3) reading with Albright and Mann, “let the dying bury their dead”; or as I prefer, (4) “let the *relatives* / the *next of kin* bury their dead.” While the disciple requesting the delay in following Jesus was a son of the deceased, there is no evidence to insist that he was the only relative or the next of kin.

Once **מַתָּחַת** is restored in the lexicons of Biblical Hebrew and identified as the verb used in Exo 4:24, as well as appearing in the names **מַתָּחַתְּיָה** and **מַתָּחַתְּיָהוּ**, the Hebrew text of Matt 22:8b can be read as Jesus’ providing a realistic alternative for someone who is away from home when a death in the family occurs: “other relatives can handle the burial,” or “[in your absence] let the next of kin bury their deceased.”

Because Hebrew was and remains a language of discourse for rabbis and their disciples, Jesus could have spoken to his bereaved disciple in Hebrew. If so, he may have used words similar to those which appear in the Shem Tob *Hebrew Gospel of Matthew*: **עֹזֶב הַמֵּתִים לְקַבּוֹר מַתִּיחָם**. But the ambiguity in the written text would not have been present in the spoken word since vowels are a requisite for speech. The **מַתִּיחָם** of the written record stood for **הַמְּתִיחִים** “the relatives”—rather than **הַמְּתִיחִים** “the men” or **הַמְּתִיחִים** “the dead.” The use of **מַתִּיחָם** from the root **מַתָּחַת** and **מַתִּיחָה** from the root **מַתָּחָה** presents a wordplay rather than repetition.

What Jesus said in Hebrew was clear and simple. But once it was written down in Hebrew it became automatically ambiguous since vowels were not recorded along with consonants. Of the four possible ways to read **הַמְּתִיחִים**, a Greek translator opted for **τοὺς νεκροὺς** “the dead,” thereby transforming a very practical suggestion of Jesus into an

impossible proverb, which in turn has led to many implausible interpretations.²² It is a bit ironic that many who disdain the idea of an Aramaic or Hebrew *Vorlage*—insisting that Jesus meant for his disciples to let the “spiritually dead” bury their loved ones—turn to the clergy for funeral services and burial rites.

NOTES

1. Luke 9:60 contains the same phrase, Αφες τοὺς νεκροὺς θάψαι τοὺς ἔαντῶν νεκρούς, but the rest of the verse differs considerably, reading σὺ δὲ ἀπελθὼν διάγγελλε τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ “but as for you, go and proclaim the kingdom of God,” for Matthew’s Ἀκολούθει μοι “follow me.”
2. The Hebrew text of Shem Tob Ibn Shaprut; see Howard 1987: 34–35; 1995: 34–35.
3. Not to be confused with the misprint מְתַהַה for מְתַה on 654a. Note Dillman’s reference (1955: 183) to the stem מְתַה.
4. M’Neile 1915: 110. Or, by misreading the infinitive לִמְקֹבֵר as the participle מְקֹבֵר, it was thought to mean “Leave the dead *to him that buries* dead bodies,’ i.e., Leave your father’s body to be buried by anyone who will do it.”
5. Perles 1919: 26 and Abrahams 1924: 183, who reconstructed the phrase as שׁבוק לְמִיחְיָא מְקֹבֵר מִיחְיָא.
6. Black 1950: 219–220 reconstructed the Aramaic as *ithai bath-rai wish'boq methinin qabrin mithyanin*, which could have been translated into Greek as ἄφες τοὺς νωθροὺς (?) θάψαι τοὺς (ἔαντῶν) νεκρούς.

7. Herrmann 1981: 283. This assumes a misreading in the Greek tradition of νεκροὺς “dead men” for νεανίας “young men.”

8. Köhler 1987: 91.

9. Basser 1993: 89. See Goldenberg 1996: 64–83 for a critique of Basser's proposal. Gilad Gevaryahu (private communication, 1993) noted (1) the absence of מַדִּין “city, town” in the western Aramaic dialects could simply mean that most documents from the period under review have not survived or are in poor condition, whereas the use of מַדִּין in the eastern dialects suggests more documents survived, not necessarily that מַדִּין was used more than קָרְךָ “town”; (2) contact between the Babylonian and Palestinian Jewish communities was so routine that elements in the respective dialects could have easily have migrated from one community to the other, without showing up in the texts which survived; and (3) in poetry or for paronomasia a word from another dialect may be borrowed.

10. Note also McCane's argument (1990: 31–43) that the disciple wants to participate in a customary second burial service for his father. Important also is Bockmuehl's critique (1998: 553–581) of Hengel's (1981: 3–15) and Sanders's (1987: 252–255) proposal to read this saying as Jesus's rejection of ritualism and his annulment of the fourth commandment. Sanders (1985: 255) concluded

At least once Jesus is willing to say that following him superceded the requirements of piety and the Torah. This may show that Jesus was prepared, if necessary, to challenge the adequacy of the Mosaic dispensation.

11. Manson 1949: 73.

12. Keener 1999: 275.

13. Allen 1912: 82.

14. Kingsbury 1988: 59.

15. Bockmuehl 1988: 581.
16. Howard 1950: 351.
17. Yeager 1977: 36.
18. Derrett 1985: 226.
19. See Howard 1987 and 1995; and Hewitt 2000.
20. בְּמִתָּה or בְּמִתַּה would be the *Hiph'il* infinitive of “to bond (by marriage),” whereas בְּמִתָּה or בְּמִתַּה would be the *Hiph'il* infinitive of מוֹת “to die.” For a more detailed examination of Exo 4: 24–26, see Chapter V.
21. Other lexicographers derive אֲמֵתָי Amitai from “to confirm, to support” or אֲמֵת “truth,” and (אֲמַתִּיה) Matthew from מִתְנִיחַ “gift” and נְתַנֵּן “to give,” as if it was just a variation of other names derived from נְתַנֵּה, like (נְתַנִּיה) Netanyah(u) and (מִתְנִיחַה) Mattanyah(u) (BDB 54, 682).
22. The different translations of רֹעֶה in the versions provides a good analogy of translation errors in other texts. The נָמָרְעִים in Nahum 3:18 was rendered in the LXX ἐνύσταξαν οἱ ποιμένες οὐ “your shepherds (= רֹעֶה, stem I) slept,” but the Peshitta has נָמָרְעִים (nāmw̄ habraiky) “your friends (= רֹעֶה, stem II) slept.” In Micah 4:9 the MT תְּרִיעֵי רֹעֶה “you commit evil” was translated in the Septuagint as ἔγνως κακά “you have known evil” (= רֹעֶה, stem I, and reading תְּרִיעֵי as תְּרִיעֵי), and the Peshitta has תְּרִיעֵי אֲבָדְתָּי, תְּרִיעֵי אֲבָדְתָּי (“ābadty bištā”) “you committed evil.” However, Targum Jonathan has אַתְּ מִתְחַכְּבָּרָא לְעִמְמִיא “you made friends (= רֹעֶה, stem II) with the gentiles.”

XXX

“I HAVE NOT COME TO BRING THE END” MATTHEW 10:34–36

INTRODUCTION

Matthew 5:9

μακάριοι οἱ εἰρηνοποιοί,
ὅτι αὐτοὶ υἱοὶ θεοῦ κληθήσονται
Blessed are the peacemakers
for they shall be called the sons of God

Matthew 10:34

μὴ νομίσητε ὅτι ἥλθον βαλεῖν εἰρήνην ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν.
οὐκ ἥλθον βαλεῖν εἰρήνην ἀλλὰ μάχαιραν
Do not think that I have come to bring peace on earth;
I have not come to bring peace, but a sword.¹

Matthew 26:52

τότε λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς,
Ἄποστρεψον τὴν μάχαιράν σου εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτῆς.
πάντες γὰρ οἱ λαβόντες μάχαιραν ἐν μαχαίρῃ
ἀπολοῦνται

Then Jesus said to him,
‘Put your sword back into its place;
for all who take the sword will perish by the sword.’

These statements of Jesus are impossible to harmonize, although there have been some attempts to minimize the tension, if not a contradiction, in these verses. Luz (2001: 109) summarized well the difficulties, stating

300 “I HAVE NOT COME TO BRING THE END”

The sword saying is difficult. Its content is “dangerous and almost unbearable” and seems “more appropriate to the Qur'an than to the Gospels.” It does not fit well with the greeting of peace that the disciples are to bring into the houses (10:13) and the image of the disciples as peace makers (5:9, cf. Mark 9:50). It is more appropriate for the Christ of the Apocalypse who carries the sword in his mouth (Rev 1:16; 2:12, 16; 19:15, 21).²

Albright and Mann (1971: 129) paraphrased 10:34, “Do not think that I have come to impose peace on earth by force; I have come neither to impose peace, nor yet to make war.” They thought the saying was spoken in Aramaic, which they reconstructed as ³לא אָתָּה לְמַרְמִי שְׁלֹמָא אֶלָּא חֲרֵב אֶלָּא . . . לא אֶלָּא . . . לא אֶלָּא . . . “not . . . but” reflecting “some confusion in oral tradition into Greek” for the original ⁴לא אֶלָּא . . . “neither . . . nor,” thereby making Jesus *neither* a pacifist *nor* a militarist.

Davies and Allison (1991: 218), without comment, called attention to the Aramaic retroversion of Albright and Mann, preferring instead just to recognize a “Semitism” in the expression βαλεῖν εἰρήνην “to cast peace” and to recognize Luke’s “division” for Matthew’s “sword” as a secondary element in the tradition.⁵

Whereas Albright and Mann thought Matt 10:34 suffered from several omissions, Davies and Allison, followed by Luz (2001: 108), considered 10:34–35 to be “an indissoluble unit that faithfully preserves words of Jesus.” They concluded that 10:34 means

the advent of the kingdom must not lead to a utopian view of the here and now: the enthusiastic extremes of ‘over-realized eschatology’ must be avoided. Tribulation is still the believer’s lot.

While Jesus's words in 10:34 in Greek sound like an announcement of a جهاد (*jihâd*) "war," they become altered in their interpretation by Davies , Allison, and many others into a جاحد (*jâhid*),⁶ i.e., when Jesus stated that he was "casting a sword upon the earth," he was actually announcing the impending "difficulty, distress, and affliction" which his disciples would experience. Luz (2001: 110) phrased this idea in terms of the "active sword" versus "the passive sword," with Jesus saying the sword would not be drawn actively *by* him or *by* his disciples, but *against* him and his disciples. In other words Jesus was not calling for his disciples to do what Moses commanded the Levites to do for God: "put every man his sword (שִׁימֹן אִישׁ־חֶרְבּוֹ) on his side, and go to and fro from gate to gate throughout the camp, and slay every man his brother, and every man his companion, and every man his neighbor" (Exo 32:27). To the contrary, the "passive" sword Jesus spoke of referred to the anticipated suffering, woes, and tribulation which would be inflicted upon his followers.

On the other hand, Buchanan (1996: 467) argued for Matt 10:34 being Jesus' call for an active sword. He reasoned:

It seemed to many that the only way to obtain freedom and be ruled by their own king was to overpower Rome with military force. . . . There were extreme nationalists on the one side and those who had made peace with Rome and were profiting from this relationship on the other. . . . The peace required without revolution was the peace that collaborators had made with Rome. Neither Jesus nor his followers were prepared to endorse that kind of peace. To break this sabotage that was called peace, Jesus came to introduce a war. . . . The religious zeal of nationalist Jews prompted them to believe that they could succeed as others had done. Jesus was evidently involved in these aspirations.

302 “I HAVE NOT COME TO BRING THE END”

Buchanan reaffirmed notions of Jesus’s being a political zealot, which were made popular by earlier critics like Reimarus and Brandon—whose interpretations had been subjected to a brief but careful critique by Black (1970: 116–117). Black espoused a variation along this line, stating

While not a political Zealot, Jesus could perhaps be claimed as an apocalyptic Zealot, proclaiming a final impending War against Belial and all his followers in heaven and on earth, even in the same family.

Keener (1999: 329), in disagreement with Black, noted that “sword” is standard metonymy for violence and war in Jewish literature and need not be so narrowly interpreted as Black proposed.⁷ Keener concurred with Davies and Allison that Jesus’s sword referred to the suffering of Jesus’ followers.

What commentators have failed to notice is that in Matt 10:34 Jesus was addressing two “messianic expectations” articulated by John the Baptist: (1) Matt 3:2, “repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand,” and (2) Matt 3:11–12,

but he who is coming after me . . . will baptize you with the Holy Spirit and with fire. His winnowing fork is in his hand, and he will clear his threshing floor and gather his wheat into the granary, but the chaff he will burn with unquenchable fire.

Since the kingdom of God was at hand, John the Baptist expected the imminent end of the earth, coupled with the messiah’s fiery retribution upon the unrepentant. The Greek text of Matt 10:34 could be read simply as Jesus’s changing the weapon of retribution from *unquenchable fire* to an *insatiable sword*, in which case Luke 21:8–35 could serve as commentary:

they will fall by the edge of the sword . . . when you see these things taking place, you know that the kingdom of God is near . . . this generation will not pass away till all has taken place.

A HEBREW *VORLAGE*

The Aramaic *Vorlage* reconstructed by Albright and Mann, noted above, **לֹא אָתָּה לִמְרַמֵּי שֶׁלֶמֶא אֶלָּא חֲרַבָּא**, becomes ambiguous if the vowels are removed. The consonantal reconstruction, **לֹא אָתָּה לִמְרַמֵּי שֶׁלֶמֶא וְלֹא חֲרַבָּא**, could be translated, “I did not come to impose retribution nor to wage war.”⁸ The ambiguities are even greater when one considers a Hebrew *Vorlage*.

The Hebrew text of Shem Tob Ibn Shaprut⁹ provides several clues for reconstructing the Hebrew *Vorlage* which would account for the differences between Matthew’s “sword” and Luke’s “divisions,” as well as demonstrate how ambiguous Jesus’s saying may have become when it was written in consonantal Hebrew. The best Shem Tob manuscripts¹⁰ read, **שְׁבָאתִי לְשִׁים בָּאָרֶץ**, whereas six other manuscripts read, **שְׁבָאתִי לְשֻׁום (לְשִׁים)** **שְׁלוּם בָּאָרֶץ**, which equals the Greek text. At first glance the two best manuscripts seems simply to have omitted the word **שְׁלוּם** “peace.” However, they may reflect an entirely different textual tradition because **שׂוּם** (= **סְוּם**) means “to finish, to end,” as in *Arakhin* 10^b, **פָתַח בְּחַלִיל וּמְסִימָם** “[the *Mishnah*] begins with *halil* and ends with **בָּאָבוֹב**

304 “I HAVE NOT COME TO BRING THE END”

abbub,” and in *Baba M^otsi^ca* 76^b, “they cited it before him to the end.”¹¹

Following this line of evidence, the best Shem Tob manuscripts could have Jesus saying, “think not that I have come to bring the end (= לְשִׁים) on earth.”¹² The six other Shem Tob manuscripts (with לשום or לשולם) could have the same meaning were the שולם read as שלם—on the assumption that the original שלם was vocalized as שלום to bring it into conformity with the Greek εἰρήνην “peace.”

אֲלֹת חָשָׁבָו שַׁבָּאתִי לְשָׁם שָׁלָם בָּאָרֶץ could be read several ways, given the ambiguity of שלם, which could mean any of the following:

šlm “peace”	שָׁלָם	שָׁלוֹם	shalōm ¹³
šlm “recompense”	שָׁלָם	שִׁלֵּם	shillēm ¹⁴
šlm “retribution”	שָׁלָם	שִׁלּוּם	shillūm ¹⁵
šlm “end, Finis”	שָׁלָם	שְׁלֵם	shēlem. ¹⁶

What appears as repetition in the Greek text, βαλεῖν εἰρήνην . . . βαλεῖν εἰρήνην, could come from a *Vorlage* with paronomasia rather than repetition. If the original saying included the words שָׁלָם . . . לְשָׁם שָׁלוֹם . . . לְשָׁם שְׁלֵם, the meaning could have been “Do not think that I have come to bring retribution (לְשִׁים) on the earth, nor have I come to bring the end (שִׁים).” Were these Jesus’ words, he would have disagreed with John the Baptist that the end was near and the messiah would soon torch the earth in retribution upon the sinners. Such disagreement could have contributed to John’s doubts

about Jesus, which led him to inquire of Jesus, “Are you he who is to come, or shall we look for another?” (Luke 7:20).

If the Hebrew saying of Jesus did not mention “peace,” did it speak of a “sword”? The answer must be, “Probably not!”¹⁷ In the first place, Greek μάκαιρα need not mean “sword.” The ξίφος was used for the straight sword and ρύμφαία indicated a large, broad sword.” The μάχαιρα was used for a knife, a carving-knife, a sacrificial knife, as well as a dirk, a dagger, an assassin’s weapon, and a short sword or cavalry saber. The μάκαιρα was the base word for a variety of knives, from the butcher’s cleaver, to the instruments of the surgeon and the barber.¹⁸

Moreover, neither μάχαιρα nor חֶרְבָּה can account for Luke’s having διαμερισμόν “division” instead of the μάχαιραν in Matthew. If the Hebrew *Vorlage* of Matthew and Luke had had חֶלֶף rather than חֶרְבָּה, the differences in the Gospel tradition become transparent and the ambiguity of חֶלֶף could account for the misunderstandings reflected in the Greek texts. The ambiguity of consonantal חֶלֶף can be summarized as follows:

1. <i>hlp</i> “knife”	חֶלֶף	חֹלֵף	<i>hōlef</i>
	חֶלֶף	חַלִּיף	<i>hallif</i> ¹⁹
2. <i>hlp</i> “sharp spear”	חֶלֶף	חַלִּיף	<i>halif</i> ²⁰
3. <i>hlp</i> “butcher knife”	חֶלֶף	מַחְלָף	<i>māhālaf</i> ²¹
4. <i>hlp</i> “change”	חֶלֶף	חַלְוִיף	<i>hilluf</i> ²²
5. <i>hlp</i> “reversion”	חֶלֶף	חַלְפָה	<i>hēlef</i> ²³
6. <i>hlp</i> “substitution”	חֶלֶף	חַלִּיפָה	<i>hălifah</i> ²⁴

306 “I HAVE NOT COME TO BRING THE END”

- | | | | |
|---|---------------|---------------|----------------------------|
| 7. <i>hlp</i> “differences” | חָלֹף | חָלֹף | <i>hilof</i> ²⁵ |
| 8. <i>hlp</i> “dissension” | חָלָף | חָלָף | <i>hilof</i> ²⁶ |
| 9. <i>hlp</i> “contention” | חָלָף | חָלָף | <i>hilf</i> ²⁷ |
| 10 <i>hlp</i> “covenant” | חָלָף | חָלָף | <i>helef</i> ²⁸ |
| 11 <i>hlp</i> “friendship” | חָלָף | חָלָף | <i>helef</i> ²⁹ |
| 12. <i>hlp</i> “brotherhood” | חָלָף | חָלָף | <i>helef</i> ³⁰ |
| 13. <i>hlp</i> “league” | חָלָף | חָלָף | <i>helef</i> ³¹ |
| 14. <i>hlp</i> “a sincere friend who swears to his companion
that he will not act unfaithfully with him” = | | | |
| | חָלִיף | חָלִיף | <i>halif</i> ³² |

In light of these lexical options, the original saying could have included a wordplay, as well a *double entendre*, to convey the following message:

Do not think that I have come to bring

- upon the earth retribution (**שְׁלֹום**),
- nor have I come to bring the end (**שְׁלֹשֶׁת**).

But [I have come] to

- *make a change* (**חַלֵּךְ**),³³
- *establish a covenant community* (**חַלְלָה**).³⁴

THE CURETONIAN VARIANT

Although the Old Syriac (Syr^s) reads like the Greek text, “do not think that I came to bring peace on earth; I did not come to bring peace but a sword,”³⁵ the Curetonian (Syr^c)³⁶ has the doublet פְּלָגַת וְשִׁבְעָה (pelgūtā³⁷ *dre^cyānā³⁸ wēsaypā³⁹*), meaning “*the division³⁷ of opinion³⁸ and the sword.*”³⁹ This doublet can readily be explained by a Hebrew *Vorlage* with the ambiguous חילף, meaning (1) *hilaf* (“difference of opinion”) (the cognate of Arabic خلاف [hilāf]), and (2) חיליף (*hallif*) “knife.”⁴⁰

This “division of opinion” in the Curetonian text also appears in Luke 12:51 as διαμερισμόν “division, division of opinion,” discussed above, where it was noted that Luke’s διαμερισμόν “division” *cannot* be explained easily as a variant of Matthew’s μάχαιραν “sword,” although it can readily be explained as a different understanding of the ambiguous חילף in the Hebrew *Vorlage*.

MATTHEW 10:35–36

ἡλθον γὰρ διχάσαι
 ἄνθρωπον κατὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ
 καὶ θυγατέρα κατὰ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῆς,
 καὶ νύμφην κατὰ τῆς πενθερᾶς αὐτῆς,

for I have come to divide
 a man against his father,
 and a daughter against her mother,
 and a daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law;
 and a man’s foes will be those of his own household.

Shem Tob Text of 10:35–36

באתִי לְהַפְּרִיד האָדָם
 הַבָּן מֵאָבִיו וְהַבָּת מֵאָמָּה
 וְהַאוֹבִים לְהִוּת אֲהֻבוּם

I have come to separate mankind:
 the son from his father,
 and the daughter from her mother;
 and the enemies are to become loved ones

The Shem Tob text is obviously not a translation of the Greek text. The Greek preposition *κατά* “against,” repeated three times, calls to mind the hostility found in Micah 7:6, “For the son dishonors his father, the daughter will rise up against her mother, the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law: those in his house *shall be* all a man’s enemies.” But the tone in the Shem Tob text is gentle by comparison, requiring only the kind of separation often found when a man “forsakes father and mother and cleaves unto his wife.” (Gen 2:24).

The Shem Tob text has the verb פְּרִיד for the Greek διχάζω “to separate, to divide one against another, to turn someone against someone”⁴¹ The Arabic cognate of פְּרִיד is فَرَد (farada) “to separate, to be single, to be alone, to be singular, to be unique” (Lane 1877: 2363–2365; Wehr 823–824). Lane noted that in stem II this verb means, “he applied himself to the study of practical religion, or the law, and withdrew from [the rest of] mankind, and attended only to the observance of the commands and prohibitions [of religion],” with the noun مُفَرِّد (mufarrid) meaning “those who are devoted to the commemoration of the praises of God.” Noteworthy also is the

adjective فَرْدِي (*faradi*) “personal, individual, individualist, individualistic.”

To the degree that nuances which survived in classical Arabic were common with their cognates in classical Hebrew, the division envisioned by Jesus would have been for individual freedom to participate in a religious community of his avowed followers. Following the Hebrew text tradition, the new covenant community would not be against (κατά) anyone, not even against one’s enemies, for enemies could now be embraced as family members, i.e., members of the covenant family for whom Jesus was Lord.

If Hebrew חַלְפָה and פְּרִדָּה had meanings comparable to their Arabic cognates and were in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Greek Matthew and the Greek Luke, they would provide the first hint from Jesus (1) of a church fellowship, (2) for individualism within the community, and of (3) a monastic lifestyle.

NOTES

1. Luke 12:51 reads δοκεῖτε ὅτι εἰρήνην παρεγενόμην δοῦναι ἐν τῇ γῇ; οὐχί, λέγω ὑμῖν, ἀλλ’ ἡ διαμερισμόν, “Do you think that I have come to give peace on earth? No, I tell you, but rather division” (RSV). Plummer (1922: 334–335) commented only on the ἀλλά, preferring to read it as ἄλλο and translating, “I came not to send *any other thing than* division” (Plummer’s italics) and concluded simply, “Jesus does not wish his followers to live in a fool’s paradise. . . . In this world they must expect tribulation.”

2. Luz’s two quotations are from Brenz (1567: 438) and Black (1970: 115).

310 “I HAVE NOT COME TO BRING THE END”

3. The **חרב** in the reconstruction could have varied meanings in addition to “sword” or “war” (which are the cognates of Arabic حرب [harb]), including **חרב**, the cognate of Arabic **حرب** (*harib*) “desolation,” or **חרב** “drought,” which has no Arabic cognate. (See BDB 351–353; Lane 1865: 540, 715–717.)

4. In their notes Albright and Mann translated, “Do not think that I have come to impose peace on earth by force; I have come neither to impose peace, nor yet to make war. *But I have come to divide the just from the unjust . . . a man against his father . . .*” (italics mine), assuming that a simple homoioteleuton (from the first “I have come” to the second “I have come”) was responsible for the loss of the italicized words. The lacuna (indicated by the repeated three dots) are Albright’s and Mann’s way of indicating that “there has obviously been an omission here, but we do not know what it was at this stage—presumably the Micah passage [7:6] was quoted in full.”

5. Luz (2001: 110) noted, “While ‘to cast’ peace is a Semitic term, using ‘I cast’ with ‘sword’ is linguistically quite unusual.” On the “Semitism” of “casting peace” see (1) Jastrow’s references (1903: 965, 1535) to סום (= שׁוֹם) “to place, to put” as in *B'rakhot* 39^b, משים “thou hast made peace,” and in *Sanhedrin* 99^b, שולם “causing peace,” and (2) סום (= שׁוֹם) “to attach,” as in אומה שמשיים לְהַשְׁלֹם “a nation to which peace is assigned” (*Cant. R* to VII, 1). In the Septuagint βάλλω “to cast” is used frequently to translate טומם/טום, as in Num 22:38, Jud 6:9, Jer 40:10 [LXX 47:10]; and Ezek 21:22 [LXX 23:24], where βαλεῖν χάρακα is used twice to translate לשלום כריים “to set up battering rams.” (Hatch and Redpath [1954: 189] list 20 different words in Hebrew translated by βάλλειν.)

6. See Lane 1865: 474, where this term is defined as “striving, labouring, or toiling,” used in the phrase جهاد جاهد (*jahd jâhid*) “intense labor, severe difficulty or distress.”
7. In Hebrew it may not be a matter of metonymy since **חרב** “sword” and **חרב** “desolation, violence” are from two distinctly different roots. The former is a cognate of Arabic حرب (*harb*), while the latter is the cognate of خرب (*harîb*). See above, note 3.
8. See Jastrow 1563, **שָׁלִיּוֹת** “payment, punishment”; J. Payne Smith 156, **וְהַרְבָּא אֶרְמִיָּה** (*harbâ’ armîw*) “they waged war.”
9. See Howard 1987, 1995, and Hewitt 2000.
10. British Library Ms. Add. no. 26964 and its replica, ms C.
11. See Jastrow 965 for the verb **סָיוּם** and 977 for the noun **סָיוּם**. On the interchange of ס and ש, see GKC 6^k.
12. On the elision of the ה of the *Hiph’îl* infinitive, see GKC § 53^q.
13. BDB 1022–1024; Jastrow 1586; J. Payne Smith 581–582.
14. BDB 1022; J. Payne Smith 581.
15. BDB 1024; Jastrow 1563, “requital, retribution, compensation, payment, punishment.”
16. BDB 1022; Jastrow 1585, “to be whole, complete; to end, cease,” used in the *Niph’al* meaning “has ended (must die).” J. Payne Smith 581, “to come to the end of life”; **בָּلָה לִלְבָד** “the kingdom came to an end”; **בָּלָה תֵּלֶךְ** “the world has come to an end”; and **שְׁלֵם** (*šêlem*) “Finis, End.” Note especially the use of **תְּשִׁלֵּי מִנִּי** “you bring me to an end” in Isa 38:12 and 13.

312 “I HAVE NOT COME TO BRING THE END”

17. The saying of Jesus in Luke 12:49, “I came to cast fire ($\pi\hat{\nu}\rho$) on the earth . . .” could have come from a Hebrew *Vorlage* which had “I will cast אֹור on the earth,” meaning “I will cast *light* upon the earth.” The אֹור in Isa 44:16; 47:14; and Ezek 5:2, was translated as πῦρ “fire” rather than as “light.” Elsewhere אֹור appears in 150 places meaning “a light, to enlighten, to light.”

18. Liddell and Scott 1085, 1190, and 1574. In the Septuagint, μάχαιρα translated חַנִּית “spear,” מְאַכְּלָת “knife,” בֵּרֶזֶל “iron,” as well as חֶרֶב “sword.”

19. Jastrow 469. Note Jud 5:26 and Job 20:24 where חַלֵּף means “to pierce, to pass through.”

20. Lane 1865: 628 and 797c, where خَلِيف (*halif*) is recognized as an error for حَلِيف (*halif*).

21. BDB 322; Jastrow 762; Klein 219 “slaughtering knife” from the root “to pierce, be sharp.”

22. BDB 322; Jastrow 469, 472; J. Payne Smith 144; Wehr 297; Lane 1865: 792, 798, noting especially the English loanword “Caliph” meaning “vice-regent, lieutenant, substitute, one who has been made or appointed to take the place of him who was before him.” Note also Klein 219, “change, pass away, change religion.”

23. Jastrow 472.

24. BDB 322.

25. Lane 1865: 796; Wehr 298.

26. Wehr 297–299.

27. Lane 1865: 796, 798.

28. Lane 1865: 627. Arabic (ḥilf) would be analogous to the Hebrew *segolate* סְפִר (**sipr*). The feminine حِلْفَة (ḥilfat) is also attested. According to Simon (1793: 564, citing Schultens), حلف (ḥalafa) is the cognate of the חַלְיפּוֹת in Psa 55:19–20,

אֵין חַלְיפּוֹת לָמוּ וְלֹא יִרְאֶא אֱלֹהִים
שְׁלַח יָדְיוּ בְּשַׁלְמֵיו חַלְל בְּרִיחָוּ:

There were no *oaths of allegiance* from them,*
and they did not fear God.

He stretched forth his hands in retribution;
they (plural with LXX) had profaned his covenant.
(McDaniel)

οὐ γάρ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς ἀντάλλαγμα
καὶ οὐκ ἐφοβήθησαν τὸν Θεόν
ἔξετεινεν τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἀποδιδόναι
ἐβεβήλωσαν τὴν διαθήκην αὐτοῦ

For they suffer no *exchange*,
and they have not feared God.

he has reached forth his hand with retribution;
they have profaned his covenant.

*See GKC 103^f for reading לְמוּ as a plural, and UT 425, #1337, for לְ “from.”

29. Lane 1865: 627; Wehr 235. KBS (321) cited חַלְף stem II, the cognate of Arabic حلف (ḥalaf) “sharp, high coarse grass, a writing reed.” However, حلف (ḥalafa) “to swear an oath, to establish a brotherhood, to unite in a covenant” and حلف (ḥilf) “confederacy, league, covenant” go unmentioned in KBS, even though these cognates were cited in earlier lexicons, like those of Castell (1669: 1255–1260) and Simon (1793: 564). The name Alphaeus, (Ιάκωβος ὁ τοῦ Ἀλφαίου) in Matt 10: 3, which appears in Hebrew

314 “I HAVE NOT COME TO BRING THE END”

as **חֲלֵפִי**, in Syriac as سَلْعَ (halpay), and in the Arabic as حَلْفِي (halfī), is to be derived from this stem. See Jastrow 457.

30. Lane 1865: 627; Wehr 235. The **בְּנֵי חֲלֹפָה** “sons of the covenant” in Prov 31:8 is another likely occurrence of this cognate in Hebrew. Especially noteworthy in the context of this proverb is that **حَلْف** (*halif*) which means “the act of confederating, or making a compact or confederacy, to aid, or assist; and making an agreement . . . the object was to aid the wronged, and for making close the ties of the relationship, and the like . . .” The verse should be translated, “Open your mouth for the dumb, for the rights of all who are sons of the covenant.” The Arabic translation of **ברית** frequently used **حَلْف** (*halif*), as in Jud 9:46 where the MT appears in the London Polyglott of 1667 as **בֵּית אֶל בְּרִית** **بֵּית עַיל לִיְתָהָלָפָעָ** (*bayti 'il liyataḥālafū*) “ut ibi conjurarent conspirantque.”

31. Lane 1865: 627; Wehr 235.

32. Lane 1865: 627.

33. The cognate of **خَلْف** (*hillūf*) cited in Lane 1865: 792, 798.

34. The cognate of **حَلْف** (*hēlef*), cited in Lane 1865: 627. If this reconstruction is on target, this could be the first hint of the church.

35. Reading **شَيْنَة** (*šaynā^o*) for “peace” and **سَيْپَه** (*saipe^o*) for “sword.” The Peshitta reads **حَرْبَة** (*harbā^o*) rather than **سَيْپَه** (*saipe^o*). This variant was noted by Hill (1972: 194), but without his distinguishing between Codex Sinaiticus (Syr^{sin}) and Codex Curetonianus (Syr^{cur}).

36. William Petersen noted,

If one ignores the Diatessaron (which is the oldest gospel text in Syriac), then three recensions of the gospels in Syriac exist. (A)

The oldest of these three is the *vetus syra* or “Old Syriac,” which exists in two manuscripts: Codex Sinaiticus (Syr^s or Syr^{sin}, dated to the mid- or late-fourth cent.) and Codex Curetonianus (Syr^c or Syr^{cur}, early fifth cent.). It must be pointed out that these two manuscripts do *not* appear to be related; rather, each seems to represent a more or less independent translation of a Greek archetype (the Greek archetype apparently differed, as well); that this is the case is demonstrated by the differences in (1) word order, (2) vocabulary choice, (3) handling of passages in the Greek which required circumlocution in the Syriac, etc.

See <http://rosetta.atla-certr.org/TC/vol02/Kiraz1997rev.html>.

37. J. Payne Smith 446–447.

38. J. Payne Smith 546.

39. J. Payne Smith 375–376.

40. Lane 1865: 796; Wehr 298. The Curetonian **pelgūtā** **وَلْعَدَةٌ** **وَلْعَدَةٌ** (*pelgūtā* *dre^cyānā*) could also translate **حَلْفٌ** which would be the cognate of **خَلْفٌ** (*hilf* / *hulf*) “contention, division, dissension.”

41. Liddell Scott 403; Arndt and Gingrich 186.

XXXI

THE MISREADING WHICH LED TO THE “HATE” IN LUKE 14:26–27

INTRODUCTION

In the Torah, the Gospels, and the Epistles a number of texts can be collated into a litany of commandments to love one’s “neighbor” (**רֵעַ**¹ or **עַד**² or πλησίον³ or φίλων⁴ or ἀδελφούς⁵) and even one’s enemies (ἐχθροὺς⁶). The litany would include

Leviticus 19:17

לَا תַשְׁנַא אֶת-אֶחָיךְ בְּלִבְבֶּךְ

You shall not hate in your heart anyone of your kin. (NRS)

Leviticus 19:18; Matthew 19:19, 22:39;
Mark 12:31; Luke 10:27; Romans 13:9; James 2:8

וְאַהֲבָתְךָ לֹאֲנָךְ כְּמוֹךָ

καὶ ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν

You shall love your kinfolk as yourself.

Leviticus 19:34

הַגָּר הַגָּר אַתֶּכָם וְאַהֲבָתָה לוֹ כְּמוֹךָ

The stranger who sojourns with you . . .

you shall love him as yourself

Matthew 5:44; Luke 6:35

ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν . . . ὅπως γένησθε
υἱοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς

Love your enemies . . . so that you may be
sons of your Father who is in heaven.

THE MISREADING WHICH LED TO “HATE” 317

John 13:34–35

I give you a new commandment, that you love one another.
Just as I have loved you, you also should love one another.
By this everyone will know that you are my disciples,
if you have love for one another.

John 15:12–13, 17

This is my commandment,
that you love one another as I have loved you.
Greater love has no man than this,
that a man lay down his life for his friends ($\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omega\nu$).
You are my friends ($\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\o i$) if you do what I command you.
. . . This I command you to love one another.

Romans 13:10

ἡ ἀγάπη τῷ πλησίον κακὸν οὐκ ἐργάζεται·
πλήρωμα οὖν νόμου ἡ ἀγάπη.

Love does no wrong to a neighbor;
therefore love is the fulfilling of the law.

Hebrews 13:1

Ἐφιλαδελφίᾳ μενέτω.

Let brotherly love continue.

I John 3:11–4:21

This is the message which you have heard from the beginning, that we should love one another ($\alpha\grave{\iota}\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\lambda\o u\varsigma$) . . . We know that we have passed out of death into life, because we love the brethren ($\alpha\grave{\iota}\delta\acute{\iota}\lambda\phi\acute{\iota}\o \varsigma$). He who does not love abides in death . . . Beloved, let us love one another ($\alpha\grave{\iota}\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\lambda\o u\varsigma$), for love is of God, and he who loves is born of God and knows God. . . . He who does not love does not know God; for God is love. . . . If we

love one another (ἀλλήλους), God dwelleth in us, and his love is perfected in us. . . . God is love; and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him. . . . If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother (ἀδελφὸν), he is a liar, for he that loveth not his brother (ἀδελφὸν) whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen? . . . And this commandment we have from him, that he who loves God should love his brother (ἀδελφὸν) also.

I Corinthians 13:13

νυνὶ δὲ μένει πίστις, ἐλπίς, ἀγάπη, τὰ τρία ταῦτα·
μείζων δὲ τούτων ἡ ἀγάπη.

And now faith, hope, and love abide, these three; and the greatest of these is love.

THE IMPERATIVE TO HATE

The affirmations by Jesus (Mark 12:29) that (1) the commandment to love one's neighbor (i.e., kith and kin) as oneself (Lev 19:18) is on par with the commandment to “love the LORD your God with heart, soul, and strength” (Deut 6:4), (2) that “there is no other commandment greater than these,” and (3) these two commandments are the keys to eternal life (Luke 10:25–28) create serious problems for understanding Luke 14:26, which records Jesus’ imperative to hate everyone in the family. The problematic verse reads

τις ἔρχεται πρός με καὶ οὐ μισεῖ
τὸν πατέρα ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα
καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τὰς ἀδελφὰς
ἔτι τε καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἑαυτοῦ,
οὐ δύναται εἶναι μου μαθητής.

If any one comes to me and does not hate
 his own father and mother and wife
 and children and brothers and sisters,
 yes, and even his own life,
 he cannot be my disciple.

It appears as though Pro 8:13, “the fear of Yahweh is to hate evil,” was being restated by Jesus to mean “the fear of Yahweh is to hate a neighbor”—which would negate the litany of love.

CONJECTURES OF COMMENTATORS

Many commentators have appealed to “the less offensive but still accurate”⁷ parallel in Matt 10:37 to interpret Luke, which states, “He who loves father or mother more than me (Ο φιλῶν πατέρα οὐ μιτέρα ὑπὲρ ἐμὲ) is not worthy of me; and he who loves son or daughter more than me (οὐ φιλῶν υἱὸν οὐ θυγατέρα ὑπὲρ ἐμὲ) is not worthy of me.” Whereas in Luke 14:26 Jesus required a person to hate his own life (τὴν ψυχὴν ἔαυτοῦ), according to Matt 10:38, Jesus said “whoever does not bear his cross” (οὐ λαμβάνει τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ) and follow me is not worthy of me.”⁸ The two phrases are not synonymous.

A sampling of scholarly conjecture reveals that no one thinks Jesus literally meant what he is alleged to have said in Luke 14:26. The following sampling of statements, cited in chronological sequence) are typical.

...Jesus is here regarding the well-beloved ones whom he enumerates as representatives of our natural life, that life, strictly and radically selfish, which separates us from God. Hence He adds: *Yea, and his own life also;* this word

forms the key to understanding of the word *hate*. At bottom, our *own* life is the only thing to be hated. Everything else is to be hated only in so far as it partakes of this principle of sin and death. . . . (Godet 1881:139)

In most cases these two [natural affection and loyalty to Christ] are not incompatible; and to hate one's parents *as such* would be monstrous (Mt. xv. 4). But Christ's followers must be ready, if necessary, to act towards what is dearest to them as if it were an object of hatred. Comp[are], Jn. xii. 25. Jesus, as often, states a principle in a startling way, and leaves his hearers to find out the qualifications. (Plummer 1922: 364)

The term “hate” demands the separation of the disciple, and the warning not to love anyone or anything more is the test. This abnegation is to be taken, not psychologically or fanatically, but pneumatically and christocentrically. (Michel 1967: 691)

. . . in this context ‘hate’ is not primarily an affective quality but a disavowal of primary allegiance to one’s kin. In a way consistent with other teaching in Luke, then, Jesus underscores how discipleship relativizes one’s normal and highly valued loyalties to normal family and other social ties. (Green 1997: 565)

$\mu\iota\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, ‘to hate’, is usually said to have its Semitic sense, ‘to love less’⁹. . . . it should be noted that the Hebrew *sānē'* has the sense ‘to leave aside, abandon’, and this sense may be present: cf. the use of $\alpha\rho\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\mu\alpha\iota$ in 9:23 diff. 14:26, and the use of $\alpha\phi\mu\iota$ in 18:29 par. Mk. 10:29. The thought is not of psychological hate but renunciation. . . . Luke retains the hyperbolic form which is an authentic part of Jesus’ teaching. (Marshall 1978: 592–593)

The Saviour, of course, does not mean that he who desires to follow him must hate his parents and other loved ones as such, but certainly that if loyalty to Him clashes with

loyalty to them he is to treat his loved ones in this connection as *though* they are persons whom he hates. But even when he acts thus towards them . . . he must continue to love them . . . in accordance with Christ’s law of love. (Geldenhuys 1979: 398)

To hate is a Semitic expression meaning to turn away from, to detach oneself from. There is nothing of that emotion we experience in the expression “I hate you.” (Craddock 1990: 181)

The statement by Marshall and by Craddock that Hebrew נָנַשׁ /sānē’ has the sense “to leave aside, abandon, turn away” finds absolutely no support in the Semitic lexicons. The stem נָנַשׁ /נָנָשׁ (šānā / šānā’) can mean “to change, to remove, to depart” (see below), not נָנַשׁ /sānē’. In the Septuagint μισεῖν “to hate” never translated נָנַשׁ /נָנָשׁ, although it regularly translated נָנַשׁ (Hatch and Redpath 1954 2: 929). The sense of “abandon” or “forsake” can be recovered only if it is recognized that what Jesus said became garbled, thanks to normative Hebrew/Aramaic spelling which used the ו for the s (š) and the sh (š) sibilants, so that sānē’ “to hate” and shānā’ “to withdraw” were spelled נָנַשׁ, automatically—though unintentionally—creating a garbled written record of a perfectly clear oral statement.

THE AMBIGUITY OF נָנַשׁ AND נָנָשׁ

Thus, the μισεῖ “hate” in Luke 14:26 reflects the difficulties in interpreting some statements of Jesus once they were written in Hebrew or Aramaic. In oral tradition there could have been no confusion of *lo-yis-na’* “he does not hate” and *lo-ye-shan-neh* “he does not forsake” (phonetic spellings).¹⁰

The Hebrew/Aramaic **לֹא יִשְׁנַה** could have either meaning, with the reader being forced to interpret. Interpretations could be lexicographically correct *without* being true to the intent of the speaker. This is especially true with **שָׁנָה** and **שָׁנֵה**.

The ambiguity of the **שָׁנָה** and **שָׁנֵה**, much to the consternation of the interpreter, permits the following choices.

- (1) **שָׁנֵה** “to hate,” the cognate of Syriac **سَنَاء** (*sēnā'*), Arabic **شَنَا** (*šanā'a*) “he hated” and **شُنِيَعَ** (*šuni'a*) “he was hated,” Aramaic **שָׁנֵה** / **שָׁנָה**, Ugaritic *šn'* (Jastrow 1005, 1604; J. Payne Smith 1957: 382; Lane 1872: 1603; Gordon 1965: 492).
- (2) **שָׁנָה** / **שָׁנֵה** “to change” the cognate of Syriac **سَنَاء** (*sēnā'*) “to change from one place to another, to remove, to depart . . . [as a metaphor] to leave, to fall off from, to desert,” and Ugaritic *šnw* “to go away, to break out, to hasten” (Castell 1669: 3788; J. Payne Smith 1957: 382; Gordon 1965: 492; KBS 4: 1597; BDB 1039).¹¹
- (3) **שָׁנֵה** “to repeat, to do again” and **שָׁנִי** “second,” the cognate of Aramaic **תְּנִהָה** “to repeat, to teach,” Syriac **تְּנָאָה** (*tēnā'*) “to repeat, to tell” and Arabic **ثَنَى** (*tanaya*) “to fold, to double, to repeat”; **שָׁנֵה** “repetition” (BDB 1040; KBS 4: 1598; J. Payne Smith 1957: 616; Lane 1863: 356–360).
- (4) **שָׁנָה** / **שָׁנֵה** (a) “to glean, to sparkle, to shine, (b) to facilitate, to make easy,” and (3) “to exalt, to promote, be of high rank,” a cognate of Arabic **سنوا**/**سنى** (*sanay*

/sanaw) “he ascended, he exalted” (see # 6, below) and שָׁנַת “scarlet” (BDB 1040; KBS 4:1599; Lane 1872: 1448–1449; Wehr 1979: 509).

(5) שָׁנַת /שְׁנָתָה, the cognate of Arabic شَنَّا (*šanā'a*) or شَنِي (*šani'a*) “he gave him his right or his due” (Lane 1872: 1603, not cited in BDB, KBS, or Jastrow).

(6) سنوا /سناء, the cognate of Arabic سناء (*sanay* /*sanaw*) “he treated him with gentleness . . . behaved well with him in social intercourse . . . endeavoring to conciliate one” [form 3]; “he raised, exalted, or elevated, him” [form 4]; and “he sought to please, content, or satisfy, such a one” [form 5] (Lane 1872: 1449; Wehr 1979: 509; not cited in BBB, KBS, or Jastrow).

A clear example of the ambiguity of the noun שָׁנָת /שְׁנָתָה is found in Ecc 8:1 where the MT reads וְעַזְּ פָנֵיו יִשְׁנָת “and the hardness of his countenance is *changed*.” But the Septuagint reads καὶ ἀναιδῆς προσώπῳ αὐτοῦ μισηθήσεται “a shameless countenance will be *hated*.” Moreover, a Talmudic tradition in *Ta'anith 7b* (Epstein 1948: 29; Jastrow 1604), seemingly in support of the Septuagint against the MT, stated: “Do not read שְׁנָת /y'shunne”[changed] but יִשְׁנָת /yissane [hated].”

The בָּן יְהֹוָה שְׁנָת in Psa 127:2, “for [God] gives to his beloved sleep (=שְׁנָת)” has been translated by Emerton and Seybold (cited in KBS 4: 1595) as “He [God] certainly gives status/respect to the one whom he loves,” which draws upon definitions (4c) and (6), above. The שְׁנָת in Est 2:9, וַיַּשְׁפַּח . . . לְטוֹב “and he advanced her . . . to the best

place,” became in the Septuagint ἐχρήσατο αὐτῇ καλῶς “he treated her well” and in the Peshitta ﻭ ﻻ . . . ﻣ ﻊ ﻪ ﻢ ﻊ “and he separated/distinguished . . . her above.” These reflect definitions (4c) and (6), above.

וְלֹא ישנָא | THE AMBIGUITY OF

A Hebrew *Vorlage* of the phrase καὶ οὐ μισεῖ τὸν πατέρα ἔαυτοῦ “and he not hate his father” (Luke 14:26a) would have been וְלֹא ישנָא אֶת אָבִיו. But, whereas the Greek phrase is perfectly clear, the Hebrew phrase is clearly ambiguous. First, the לֹא need not be the negative particle לֹא. It could well be the emphatic לְאַ “verily, truly, indeed” which appears in the Shem Tob Hebrew Gospel of Matthew in 19:22b, הַבְחוֹר הַלְךָ [זעף] לְפִי שֵׁלָא הִיה לוּ קְרָקָעָות רַבָּה “the young man went away (angry)¹² because he *indeed* had many properties” (Howard 1995: 94–95).¹³

The presence of the emphatic לְאַ in Matt 19:22 suggests that it could also have been in the *Vorlage* of Luke 14:26. Assuming that ישנָא in the *Vorlage* meant “hate,” Jesus may well have meant, “If any one comes to me and he *truly* (or *actually*) hates his father and mother and wife and children and brothers and sisters, yes, and even his own life, he cannot be my disciple.” In this case the Greek text should have used the emphatic οὖν “really” rather than the negative οὐ “not”—with only a ν being the difference in Greek between “really loving” or “not loving”—similar to the difference in Hebrew between the נַעֲ being read as *lo'* or *lu'*. Were the οὐ emended to οὖν, 14:26 could be added to the biblical litany of love.

On the other hand, ישנָא in the *Vorlage* of 14:26 need not mean “hate.” Of the definitions listed above, ישנָא (2) “to

change, to go away, to withdraw” would provide a reasonable alternative which would be compatible with the litany of love. Forsaking one’s own family for a new love has its roots in the creation story: “a man leaves / forsakes (יָצַב) his father and his mother and cleaves (קָרְבָּן) to his wife, and they become one flesh” (Gen 2:24). The forsaking of kith and kin (saying “good-bye”) for a new love required no hate, just change, separation, new commitments and priorities. Jesus’ call for *forsaking all* (ἀποτάσσεται πᾶσιν) in order to become a disciple appears unambiguously in Luke 14:34 and supports the reconstruction of the *Vorlage* of Luke 14:26 with נָשָׁא / נָשָׁה “to leave, forsake, separate” rather than נָשָׁא / נָשָׁה “to hate.”¹⁴

Jesus’ response to the rich young ruler who inquired about eternal life included the commandment to honor one’s father and mother (Matt 19:19; Luke 18:20; Mark 10:19). Jesus severely chastised the Pharisees and scribes for circumventing this commandment, stating

God said, “Honor your father and your mother,” and, “Whoever speaks evil of father or mother must surely die.” But you say that whoever tells father or mother, “Whatever support you might have had from me is given to God,” then that person need not honor the father. So, for the sake of your tradition, you make void the word of God. (Matt 15:4–6)

In light of the emphasis on honoring one’s parents—which clearly includes financial assistance¹⁵—the נָשָׁא / נָשָׁה of Luke 14:26 could well be definitions (5) “to give someone their right or due” and (6) “to treat someone with gentleness, conciliation, and esteem.” Had Jesus said אִם יָבֹא אֶלָּי אִישׁ וְלֹא יָשְׁנָא אֲחֵ אָבִיו, he could well have meant “if a man comes to me and *does not treat* his father with *gentleness*” or

“if he a man comes to me and does not *rightfully support* his father.” These definitions would apply equally well with all family members mentioned by Jesus, including oneself—validating self-esteem and self-support, as well as wife-support, child-support, and conciliation among siblings.

While on the cross, just before he died, Jesus made provision for his mother’s welfare after his death.

When Jesus saw his mother, and the disciple whom he loved standing near, he said to his mother, “Woman, behold, your son!” Then he said to the disciple, “Behold, your mother!” And from that hour the disciple took her to his own home.
(John 19:26–27)

This was not an act of hate (אֶנְשׂוֹן) on Jesus’ part, nor was the beloved disciple, in obedience to Jesus’ earlier command, likely to start hating Mary once she became “Mother.” To the contrary, Jesus and the beloved disciple were making it possible for Mary to receive what was her right and due (אֶנְשׂוֹן). This interpretation brings Luke 14:26 into the biblical litany of love and into conformity with the family responsibilities spelled out in Pro 28:24 and I Tim 5:4 (cited in note 14).

LUKE 14:27

ὅστις οὐ βαστάζει τὸν σταυρὸν ἑαυτοῦ
καὶ ἔρχεται ὀπίσω μου,
οὐ δύναται εἶναι μου μαθητής
whoever does not carry the cross
and follow me
cannot be my disciple.

Luke’s earlier quotation of Jesus’s similar statement in 9:23, “If any man would come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross daily (καθ’ ἡμέραν) and follow me,”

makes it certain that carrying/bearing a cross was something that could and should be done repeatedly. Consequently, it was not a call for martyrdom which could only be done once.

The Hebrew *Vorlage* of 9: 23 and 9:27 may well have had תַּלְתָּה/**תַּלְאָ**—which was translated σταυρωθήτω “be hanged, impaled, or crucified” in Est 7:9. Once Jesus’ statements were interpreted in the light of his crucifixion, the תַּלְתָּה/**תַּלְאָ** was understandably read as the synonym of צִלְבָּ “a pole, stake, or cross” used for hanging, impaling, or crucifixion, even though, as Schneider (1971: 578) noted, “Cross-bearing in the sense of *patibulum ferre* finds no parallel in Semitic at all.”

However, if תַּלְתָּה/**תַּלְאָ** was in the *Vorlage* used by Luke it was probably the cognate of (1) Arabic تَلَّأْ (*talâ'*) “a bond, or an obligation, by which one become responsible for the safety of another, . . . responsibility, or suretship, . . . the transfer of a debt, or of a claim by shifting the responsibility from one person to another” and أَتَلَىْ (*'atlay*) [form 4] “he gave him his bond, or obligation, by which he became responsible for his safety” and (2) Arabic تَلَّوْ / تَلَّهْ (*tilw / talâ'*) “follower, companion” and “he followed, or went, or walked, behind, or after. . . he imitates such a one, and follows what he does; and follows him in action” (Lane 1863: 313–314).

With these definitions in focus the original meaning behind Jesus’ statement, “whoever *does not carry the cross* and follow me cannot be my disciple,” may well have been “whoever *does not bear responsibility* and does not *imitate me* cannot be my disciple.” There may well have been multiple layers of meaning to the statement:¹⁶

- *to fulfill obligations* for the support of one’s parents,
- *to be lovingly responsible* for kith, kin, and sojourner,
- *to be a bonded imitator* of Jesus in word and in deed.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The enigmatic statement of Jesus in Luke 14:26 calling for his disciples to hate their family members and themselves is in stark disagreement with the biblical litany of love outlined in the *Introduction*. Therefore, a Hebrew/Aramaic *Vorlage* was reconstructed in order to see what options were available for an interpreter working with unpointed and unvocalized written sources of Jesus' sayings. The Greek οὐ μισεῖ “not hate” would easily have translated לֹא ישנָא. But لֹא ישנָא could also have meant οὐν μισεῖ “truly hate” if the verb were נָשַׁן—meaning people who truly hated their family members could *not* become Jesus' disciples.

However, the verb נָשַׁן (or its by-form שְׁנָה) should have been read with a *sh* sibilant (שׁ) rather than the *s* (שׁ). By reading שְׁנָה / נָשַׁן at least five different definitions become transparent, three of which are contextually appropriate in light of the larger litany of love. It is my opinion that Jesus' use of שְׁנָה / נָשַׁן (rather than שְׁנָה / שְׁנָא “hate”) carried multiple layers of meaning which included:

- “to forsake, to say good-bye, to depart”
- “to rightfully support, to give what is due,”
- “to treat with kindness, respect, and conciliation.”

Therefore, it appears that Jesus' original oral statement meant “Whoever comes to me and does not say good-bye to father and mother, wife and children, brothers and sisters, yes, and his own life, cannot be my disciple.” But it was a *good* good-bye. The separation, grounded in love, carried responsibilities for those left at home. Kinfolk were to receive their due in kindness, conciliation, and support, as assuredly as Jesus cared for his mother by appointing a guardian upon his

impending death. While self-indulgence may be a symptom of self-hate, self-denial was to become an exercise in self-love.

To interpret Pro 8:13, יִרְאַת יְהוָה שְׁנָאת רֹעֵם “the fear of the LORD is to hate a neighbor” would not be totally wrong, but it would not do justice to the context or to the intent of Wisdom who was speaking. Similarly, the translation of אַל אֱלֹהִים יִשְׁנָא as “if he does not hate” would not be totally wrong. But it appears to have been an early misreading of a saying of Jesus which did not do justice to (1) the biblical litany of love, (2) other teachings of Jesus, and (3) the example he set in his responsible relationship to his own mother.

NOTES

1. פָּנָא “a brother or half-brother born of the same mother or father” was also used for kinship in a wider sense meaning a “relative, kinsfolk, fellow, equal” (BDB 26; Jastrow 38). As noted by Jastrow פָּנָא could be gender inclusive, as in the Midrash *Canticum Rabbah* VIII: 1 where שְׁנִי אֶחָד “two brothers” is used for “brother and sister.” The Arabic cognate أَخْ (‘ah) can also mean “a friend, an associate, a fellow, or a companion” (Lane 1863: 33).

2. רֹעֵם and its by-form מְרֻעֵם mean “friend, companion, fellow, best man, loved one.” In Lam 1:2 רֹעִית appears as a synonym of אֶחָבִת “her lovers”; and in Cant 5:16 it appears in parallelism with דָוֵד “beloved, loved one.” In Jer 3:20 רֹעֵם has the meaning of “husband,” similar to the Ethiopic cognates መርሃድ (märē’ā) “marriage” and መርሃዬ (märē’āwī) “bridegroom” (Dillman 1955: 310; BDB 946).

3. In the Septuagint πλησίον translated רֹעֵם, or a variant form thereof, 122 times and פָּנָא four times, as well as twenty-three times

as the translation of nine other Hebrew words (Hatch and Redpath 1148–1149).

4. Φίλος “beloved, dear, friend, kith and kin” (Liddell and Scott 1939). In the Septuagint it translated עֵד, or a variant form thereof, thirty-seven times and בְּנָה ten times, as well as eight times for the translation of four other Hebrew words (Hatch and Redpath 1431).

5. Ἀδελφός “brother, kinsman, colleague, fellow, associate” (Liddell and Scott 20). In the Septuagint it translated ΠΝ over four hundred times, as well as fifteen times for the translation of five other Hebrew words, including the עַ in Gen 43:33 (Hatch and Redpath 20–23).

6. The basic meaning of ἐχθρός [passive] is “hated, hateful (of persons or things),” [active] “hating, hostile,” and “enemy” wherein the active and passive meanings coincide (Lidell and Scott 747–748 *sub ἐχθραίρω, ἐχθρός, ἐχθρα*). In the Septuagint ἐχθρός generally translates אִיבָּר or אִיבָּה “enemy,” but in nine texts it translated נָשָׁר (Exo 23:5; Job 8:22, 31:29; Psa 9:13, 40:7, 80:15 [LXX 81:15], 118:7 [LXX 117:7]). The reading of Matt 10:36 in the Shem Tob Hebrew Gospel of Matthew (Howard 1995: 46–47) is of particular interest: וְהִאוּבִים לְהִיוֹת אֶחָדִים “and the enemies are to become loved ones.”

7. Davies and Allison 1991: 221, where it is noted that “service to one’s teacher comes before service to one’s father” (*Baba M’tsi'a* 2.11). However, the Talmud required the father to be served first if he was a sage. The passage reads (Epstein 1935: 204–205):

But if his father is a sage, his father takes precedence. If his father and his teacher were [each] carrying a burden, he must [first] assist his teacher to lay it down, and then assist his father. If his father and his teacher are in captivity, he must [first] redeem his teacher and then his father, but if his father is a sage he must [first] redeem his father and then his

teacher. (See also Goldschmidt 1933: 579–580, [2, 11, folio 33a].)

Davies and Allison cited Hill’s (1981: 195) conclusion, “This verse is not an attack on family relationships and natural attachments, but it is a clear insistence that following Jesus is more important than family ties . . .”

8. The Gospel of Thomas Logia 55 retains elements common to Matthew and Luke. It reads, “Whoever does not hate his father and his mother will not be able to be a disciple (μαθητής / μαθητής) to Me,” and (whoever does not) hate his brethren and his sisters and (does not) take up his cross (υπερικροτός) in My way will not be worthy of Me.” The κροτός here is an abbreviation of σταυρός = σταυρός “a cross, stake, or pale” used for crucifixion and used as a metaphor for voluntary suffering (Liddell and Scott 1635; Crum 1939: 546). (For Logia 55, see Guillaumont 1959: 30–31.)

9. Citing Luke 16:13 par Matt 6:24; Gen 29:31–33; Deu 21:15–17; 2 Sam 19:7; Pro 13:24; Isa 60:15; Mal 1:2f.; Rom 9:13; 1 John 2:9; SB I, 434.

10. There were, however, dialectal variations with the sibilants as in the *Sibboleth / Shibboleth* incident in Jud 12:6. Mistakes with sibilants could be costly. An analogy in English is the command (written in Semitic style with consonants only): *st yrslf!* It could mean “suit yourself!” or “shoot yourself!”

11. Note, for example, Matt 4:12 where ἀνεχώρησεν “he withdrew” was translated in the Peshitta as ܫܺ݁ (šanî). For the interchange of שׁנָה and נָשָׁה compare II Kings 25:29 and Jer 52:33.

12. The זען “angry” is missing in three, possibly four, of the nine available manuscripts of the Shem Tob Matthew.

13. Howard rendered the של לא היה לו קרקעות רבות “because he did not have much property.” But, in light of

- (1) the Greek text reading ἦν γὰρ ἔχων κτήματα πολλά “for he had great possessions,” here and in Mark 10:22,
- (2) the parallel passage in Luke 18:18 having ἦν γὰρ πλούσιος σφόδρα “for he was very rich,” and
- (3) Jesus’ following this encounter with an aphorism about how hard it is for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven the οὐ of 19:22 must surely mean “verily.” For bibliography on the emphatic οὐ/οὐδέ, see Chapter XIV, note 10, and KBS 510–511.

14. When John 12:25, “He who *loves* his life loses it, and he who *hates* his life in this world will keep it for eternal life,” is read in the light of John 15:13, “Greater *love* has no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends,” the “hate” (= οὐδέ) of 12:25 may have originated in a misreading of οὐδέ “forsake / abandon” in the original. Brown (1966 1: 474) noted,

Underlying John xii 25 is an independent variant of a saying attributed to Jesus, a variant comparable in every way with the variants represent in the Synoptic tradition [Mark viii 35; Luke ix 24; Matt x 39; Matt xvi 25; Luke xvii 33]. Dodd even suggests that John’s form is in some ways closer to the original Aramaic saying than is any of the Synoptic patterns.

15. Davies and Allison 1991: 523, where attention is called to Prov 28:24 (“He who robs his father or his mother and says, ‘That is no transgression,’ is the companion of a man who destroys”); and I Tim 5:4 (“If a widow has children or grandchildren, they should first learn their religious duty to their own family and make some repayment to their parents; for this is pleasing in God’s sight”).

16. For a summary of six different traditional interpretations—from understanding it as the equivalent of ἀρατε τὸν ζυγόν μου ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς “take my yoke upon you” to its being marked with a *Tau* (✚) as a sign of protection and possession—see Schneider 1971: 578–579.

XXXII

THE MEANING OF “MARY,” “MAGDALENE,” AND OTHER NAMES

INTRODUCTION

The idea that Mary Magdalene was a penitent prostitute became crystallized on Sept. 14, 591, when Pope Gregory the Great gave a sermon in Rome in which he identified Mary Magdalene in Luke 8:2 with the unnamed sinner in Luke 7:37, who “previously used the unguent to perfume her flesh in forbidden acts,” and with the Mary of Bethany in John 11:1¹

The reason for Gregory’s identifying these three women as the same person may have been due to the proximity in sound of the name Magdalene and the Greek noun μαγδᾶλιά, which was a later form of ἀπομαγδᾶλιά “the crumb or the inside of the loaf, on which the Greeks wiped their hands at dinner, and then threw it to the dogs: hence, *dog’s meat* [dog food].” (This custom may lie behind the Syro-Phoenician woman’s reference to the “crumbs” (= ψιχίων = מִקְרָב = small pieces of bread) thrown or fallen from the master’s table which the dogs ate.)²

Ἀπομαγδᾶλιά appears in Sophocles’ *Fragmanta* 34 with the meaning of “dirt washed off” (Liddell and Scott, 209, 1071).³ With this latter definition and the shortened μαγδᾶλιά in focus, it could be said that the sinful woman of Luke 7:37 had her “dirt washed off” (= ἀπομαγδᾶλιά) when Jesus forgave her, making her a “magdalene” in the Greek sense of μαγδᾶλια. As a result, the Greek μαγδᾶλιά—which was at best only insinuated in Luke 7:37—became erroneously associated with the Hebrew/Aramaic *Magdalene* of Luke 8:2, whose seven demons disappeared—like dirt wiped off.

Μαριαμ and Μαρία

The uncertainty about the derivation of the names *Miriam* (מִרְיָם) and *Maria/Mary* (מִרְיָה),⁴ matches the uncertainty of the derivation of *Magdalene* (מַגְדָּלֵנָה). Among the many proposed derivations of *Miriam* (מִרְיָם) (arranged from the least likely, in my opinion, to the most probable) are:⁵

(1) “bitter” and מִרְ “sea” meaning “bitterness of the sea,” which, by reversing the word order, becomes “sea of bitterness,” and then by equating the מִרְ “sea” with מִים “water,” Miriam could mean “bitter water,” perhaps an allusion to Exo 15:23, בַּיִת מִרְיָם הַמִּם מַתְّרָה, “the waters from Marah for they were bitter,” a phrase which follows the “Song of Miriam” in 15:21. In the Midrash the question was asked, “Why was she called Miriam?” and the answer was, “on account of bitterness” (*Seder Olam Rabbah*, III).⁶

(2) “to be fat” (perhaps related to Arabic مُرِي [marī] “to be digestible”), requiring the shift of the א to the consonantal י found in the name מִרְיָם. However, מִרְיָם was used only for well-fed animals, usually for sacrificial “fatlings” (BDB 597), making it very unlikely that מִרְיָם was the base for Miriam’s name.⁷

(3) “to rebel, to be contentious” (exemplified by Num 12:1, “Miriam and Aaron spoke against Moses”), with the י of מִרְיָם reflecting the original י of this לְ verb and the final מ being a noun suffix. The participle מִרְאָה would have been an appropriate epithet for Miriam after her confrontation with Moses, but was hardly her name at birth.

Deut 21:18–20 calls for the stoning of the rebellious (מֹרֶה) son, precluding any likelihood that this stem would have been used for any child’s name, either before or after the introduction of Mosaic law.⁸

(4) רִים the cognate of the Akkadian *rimu* “to give,”⁹ which would require a prefix מ like the מ of מַתָּן “gift,” for מְרִים to become another noun meaning “gift.” Also, for this to be the derivation of מְרִים, the י of רִים would have to be read as consonant rather than as a vowel.

(5) מְרָם the cognate of Arabic مَرَامٌ (*marām*) and مَرْعُومٌ (*marūm*) “wish, desire, craving, aspiration, longing, sought for” (Lane 1867: 1194–1195; Hava 1915: 279; and Wehr 1979: 428). Ross (1962: 402) cited مَرَامٌ (*marām*) as meaning “the wished-for child,” but there is no reference in the lexicons to a *child*, per se, being the object of the desire. Without the addition of a י it is difficult to equate מְרִים with مَرَامٌ. If the final מ of מְרִים is not a suffix but a part of the stem, it is impossible to relate מְרִים to *Mary* (Μαρία) or to *Martha* (Μάρθα), which do not reflect a final מ stem.¹⁰

(6) The Virgin Mary was referred to as *stella maris*, “star of the sea,” a title which was commonly credited to Jerome (d. 420), but Jerome actually called Mary *stilla maris*, “a drop of the sea,” as though it were derived from מַר “drop” and מִי “sea.” The *stella maris*—if not an error of *stilla* for *stella*—suggests an association of Miriam with נֶאֱמָר “luminary” and מִי “sea,” an epithet for Mary which was used by Isidore of Seville (d. 636); Alcuin (d. 804); and Rhabanus Maurus (d. 856).¹¹

The combination of מְאוֹר “luminary” and יָם “sea” may have contributed to the Talmudic tradition (*Sota* 12^a) which gave Miriam three additional names:

[Miriam was called:] ‘Zeroth’ because she became the rival [*zarah*] of her contemporaries [in beauty]. ‘Zohar’ because her face was like the glistening of the sea [*zéhar yam*]. ‘Ethnan’ because whoever saw her took a present [*ethnan*] to his wife.¹²

The מְאוֹר יָם “glistening of the sea” (dividing into two words) would be the equivalent of מְאוֹר יָם (= מִרְיָם). Cohen (1938: 59), following the textual tradition of having only one word here, read צֵהָרִים “noon,” requiring the gloss “[beautiful]” to give meaning to the rather senseless “her face resembled noon.”

(7) מִרְאָה “beloved” related to the Egyptian *mri* “to love” and *mrwty* “the well-beloved.”¹³ Zorell (1906: 356) conjectured that the -am ending in *Miriam* was an alternative form of the -iah ending (which stands for *the Yah* = *Yahweh*) found in Hebrew names. If so, *Miriam* meant “one loving Yahweh” or “one beloved by Yahweh.” However, because the Canaanite sea god was named Yamm, it would have been difficult to know if מִרְיָם meant “one loving Yah” or “or one loving Yamm.” Gardiner (1936: 197) expressed his serious doubts about this Egyptian derivation.

(8) מִרְיָם the cognate of Arabic مَرِيْم (*maryam*) “a woman who loves the discourses of men but does not act vitiously or immorally, or commit adultery or fornication” (Lane 1867: 998, 1204). It is a proper name, perhaps

from رَامٌ (*râm*) “a purely white antelope,” used for a beautiful woman (in contrast to the Hebrew רָאם “a fierce wild ox.”). This derivation would be a perfect fit for מִרְיָם. Her participation with Moses and Aaron in the early Israelite triumvirate (Mic 6:4) could well have earned her the title מִרְיָם, providing a pun on—if not the derivation of—the name מִרְיָם. Similarly, as discussed below, Mary Magdalene, in view of her many discourses with Jesus and her fellow disciples—which were free of sexual overtones—would also have qualified her for the מִרְיָם epithet.

(9) מִרְתָּה “man, master, lord” and מִרְתָּה “Martha, lady, mistress” (BDB 1101; Jastrow 834). This Aramaic root is the cognate of Arabic مَرْ (mar^o) and اِمْرَوْ (imraw^o) “a man or human being,”¹⁴ with its feminine counterparts being اِمْرَأَ (amra^a) and اِمْرَأَةَ (imrât) “a woman, a perfect woman” or “an excellent woman” (Lane 1885: 2702–2703).¹⁵ The *am* ending in *Miriam* is a suffix like the *-am/-om* in the names *Amram* (עַמְרָם), *Gershom* (גֵּרְשָׂם), and *Milcom* (מִלְכָם).¹⁶ The *-am/-om* suffix could be either feminine or masculine, as evidenced by the *-om* ending of עֲרָם (from עַזְרָם “to be naked”) in Eze 16:7: וְאַתָּה עֲרָם וְעֲרִיה (and you were naked and bare”), where the three words are clearly feminine singular.¹⁷

This derivation would mean that *Miriam* (Μαριαμ), *Martha* (Μάρθα), and *Mary* (Μαρία = ماريا = *Mâriyat*) have the same derivation and differ only in terms of which suffix was used to indicate the feminine gender: مَ- or هَ- or تَ-.¹⁸ This derivation would also account

for Mary’s being called “Notre Dame/Our Lady” and for her being esteemed by the church fathers and in the Roman Catholic tradition as the “perfect woman.”¹⁹

Μαγδαληνή and Μαγδώλος

The uncertainty about the derivation *Magdalene* matches the uncertain derivation of *Miriam* and *Maria*, discussed above. The possible derivations of *Magdalene* include the following (without any significance to the order):

(1) מִגְדָּל “tower, turret,”²⁰ used as the place name *Migdol* (Hebrew) and *Magdala* (Aramaic); and מִגְדָּלָה, used as a surname of several rabbinic scholars from Magdala (Jastrow 726).²¹ The *-ene* ending of *Magdalene* is an adjectival ending like the *-ene* ending on *Nazarene*, corresponding to the נַחַת ending of נַחֲלִית “one from Magdala.” Of the many places named *Magdala*, or having a name hyphenated with *Migdol*, Mary’s *Magadala* has been identified with *Migdol Nûniya* (מִגְדָּל-נוֹנִיָּה) “the Fish Tower,” known in Greek sources as Tarichea (“Center of Fish Salting”) which was situated about three miles north of Tiberias at the place known by its Arabic name *Mejdel* (مجدل).²²

Mary Magdalene’s *Magdala* should not be confused with the *Magdala* near Jerusalem from which a certain scribe “set his candles in order every evening of the Sabbath, went up to Jerusalem, prayed there, returned and lighted up his candles when the Sabbath was now coming in” (*Midrash Rabbah Lamentations* [Lightfoot 1658: 375]). However, the מִגְדָּל צְבָעִיא “Tower of

Dyers,” also near Tiberias (Jastrow 1259), must be considered as a possible hometown for Mary Magdalene. According to the *Midrash Rabbah Lamentations* (Freedman 1951: 162),

There were three cities whose taxes were carried to Jerusalem in wagons because of their great weight. The names of these three cities were Kabul [south east of Acco], Shihun [near Sepphoris],²³ and Magdala [near Tiberias].²⁴ Why was Kabul destroyed? Because of their discords. Why was Shihun destroyed? Because of their magic arts. Why was Magdala destroyed? Because of their harlotries (*מפני זנות*).²⁵

If the *זנות* in this midrash means “idolatries” rather than “harlotries,” and if the Magadala refers to מגדלא, the disappearance of Mary’s seven demons suggests a shift in her religious practices rather than her being penitent for sinful sexual activities. Since there were many places named *Migdol* and *Magdal*, as there were other places named *Tarichea* (“Fishtown”), identification of her hometown remains uncertain at best, assuming that *Magdalene* refers to a place, and traditions must be perpetuated cautiously.

(2) מַנְדָּלָא “governess, caretaker” (Jastrow 213, 218, 321), with Hebrew variants גִּדְלָה or גִּדְלָת, from גִּדְלָה “to be high, to grow,” which, in the *Pa^cel*, means “to rear [small children]”, especially children of a primary class.”

(3) מַנְדָּלָה “hairdresser,” with Hebrew variants גִּדְלָה or גִּדְלָת, from גִּדְלָה “to weave, to twine, to plait, to dress hair” (Jastrow 213, 218). In Syriac **ܓܵܲܳ** (*gēdal*) means

“to twist, to plait, to interweave.” In the Arabic-Syriac lexicon of Bar-Bahlul (c. 953 C.E.) it was stated that Mary was called Magdalene because her hair was braided (مَغْدَلَة [mēgadla^o] (J. Payne Smith 60–61).²⁶ The Arabic جَدَل (jadala) can also mean “to twist tight, to braid, to plait (Lane 1865: 392–393; Wehr 1979: 137).²⁷

A Talmudic tale in Hagigah 4^b illustrates just how easy it was to confuse מִנְדָּלָא “hairdresser” and מִנְדָּלָא “caretaker.” On one occasion, the Angel of Death said to his messenger, “Go, bring to me Miriam Magdala [intending it to be מִנְדָּלָא ‘the hairdresser’].” However, the messenger went and brought Miriam Magdala [misunderstood as מִנְדָּלָא ‘the caretaker’]. When the Angel of Death called the mistake to the attention of his messenger, saying, “I told thee Miriam, the מִנְדָּלָא [‘the hairdresser’], the messenger volunteered to restore Miriam מִנְדָּלָא [‘the caretaker’] back to life.” But the Angel of Death opted for an easier solution, saying to the messenger, “Since you brought her, let her be added [to the dead].”²⁸

(4) מִנְדָּלָא or מִנְדָּלָא (مَجْدُولَة (*majdūlat*) “a woman of beautiful compacture, of beautiful compact make,” which is the feminine counterpart of مَجْدُول (majdūl) “a man of slender, slim, spare, lean make” (Lane 1865: 392–393).

(5) מִנְדָּלָא “a cheerful woman” (an Aramaic *Pa^cel* participle), which would have been the cognate of the Arabic (jadala) “to be glad, joyful, happy, exuberant,” and

the noun and adjective جذلان (*jadllân*) and جذل (*jadil*) “joyful, glad, happy, cheerful, in high spirits” (Lane 1865: 397; Wehr 1979:139). Because the Arabic ؤ (*d*) appears in Hebrew as נ but as a ד in Aramaic, מנדלאַן would be the Aramaic cognate.

(6) מנדלאַן “deliberator, a debater,” which would be the cognate of (1) Arabic جدال (*jidâl*) and مجادلة (*mujâdalat*) “he compared evidences [in a discussion with another person . . .] in order that it might appear which of those evidences was preponderant, and the doing of this is commendable if for the purpose of ascertaining the truth,” and (2) Arabic جدل (*jadal*) “a term of logic, a syllogism composed of things well known, or conceded; the object of which is to convince the opponent, and to make him understand who fails to apprehend the premises of the demonstration.”

The gnostic community must certainly have understood *Magdalene* to be derived from מנדלאַן “she who discusses for the purpose of ascertaining the truth.” In the gnostic text *Pistis Sophia* thirty-nine of the sixty-four questions addressed to Jesus by his disciples are attributed to Mary Magdalene, who readily admitted to her persistence in questioning Jesus, saying, “I will not tire of asking thee. Be not angry with me for questioning everything,” to which Jesus replied, “Question what thou dost wish” (I: 24). In the apocryphal Gospel of Thomas, the Gospel of Phillip, and the Gospel of Mary, Mary Magdalene is depicted as the beloved disciple who had such intense discussions with Jesus that it created tension with some of the other disciples, especially Peter.²⁹ In

this literature Mary Magdalene received truth directly from Jesus, after which she sought to convince her fellow disciples and make them understand what they failed to apprehend.³⁰

On the other hand, جادل (*jâdal*) may be quite negative, meaning “he contended in an altercation, or disputed, or litigated, by advancing what might divert the mind from the appearance of truth and of what was right” (Lane 1865: 392). With this definition in mind, the גָּדְלוֹת and גָּדְלִוָּת in Psa 12:4 can be read as abstract nouns and גָּדְלִיָּה in Psa 12:4 can be read as abstract nouns and גָּדְלִקָּוֹת, with negative nuances like the cognate جادل (*jâdal*). So interpreted, the verse reads:

יִכְרַת יְהֹוָה כָּל־שְׁפָתֵי חַלְקוֹת
לְשׁוֹן מִרְבְּבָת גָּדְלוֹת

May the Yahweh cut off all lips of *spuriousness*
(and every) tongue speaking *contentiously*.³¹

Recognition of גָּדוֹל “contentious and deceitful” in this Psalm—even though negative—would add support to the idea that גָּדוֹל “honest discursive discourse” was an available term in Hebrew which could provide a meaningful derivation for *Magdala*.

MARY MAGDALA AND SATDA

A very terse Talmudic tale in *Sabbath* 104^b was thought by many, including zealous Christian censors, to have identified Mary Magdalene with Mary, the mother of Jesus, because it speaks not only of an adulterous Magdalene,³² but identifies

her as the mother of a man who had been crucified. The uncensored text reads as follows:³³

‘And thus they did to *Ben Satda*³ in Lydda (לִודָה), and they hung him on the eve of Passover. *Ben Satda*³ was *Ben Pandira*.³⁴ Rabbi Hisda said: The husband (בעל) was *Stada*³, the paramour (בועל) was *Pandira*. But was not the husband *Pappos* Ben Judah?—His mother’s name was *Satda*³. But his mother was *Miriam*, a dresser of woman’s hair [מנדל א נשייא]—As they say in *Pumbaditha*,³⁵ “This woman was turned away from her husband” [ה טלית ד א מבעלת] (i.e., committed adultery).³⁶

The names in this text require comment, otherwise the dialogue in the paragraph could be easily misunderstood. According to Jastrow (972), *Satda* (אַשְׁתָּדָה / אַשְׁתָּדָה) was a surname for Jesus of Nazareth and was probably a Greek name like Σταδιεύς.³⁷ Given the occasional interchange of ת and ט³⁸ and the absence of a prosthetic נ, the Aramaic אַשְׁתָּדָה is more likely to be the Persian loanword استاد (‘ustād), which Castell (1669: col. 28 [Persico-Latinum]) defined as “praeceptor, magister, peritus, ingeniosus.” This Persian loanword also appears in Arabic meaning “a master; a skillful man, who is held in high estimation; a preceptor; a tutor; a teacher, a craftsman . . .” (Lane 1863: 56, citing the “Proverbs” of El-Meydánee [d. 1140 C.E.]).³⁹

The Greek/Latin name *Pappos* “governor, tutor,” as well as “grandfather” (Lewis 1964: 725), found in the quotation above, would have been partially synonymous with *Satda*—the two names referring to the same person but in different languages. This interpretation of the names could well provide an explanation for the statement in *Sanhedrin* VII: 25^d

(“so they did in Lydda, when they made two scholars lie in wait for him [*Ben Satda*]”), indicating that *Ben Satda* was met by two of his peers or tutorial colleagues. Were *Ben Satda* a reference to Jesus, the name *Satda* would have to refer to (1) Joseph as a craftsman, which would be like the use of أستاذ (*ustâd*) in the Persian translation of the Hebrew חָשֵׁב “an ingenious worker” in Exo 26:1, “with the work of an *ingenious worker* you shall make them [the appliqué of cherubim for the tabernacle curtains],” or (2) to Jesus as “ingenious teacher” by recognizing בֶן־חַיִל as a descriptive modifier like בֶן־סְטָף as a descriptive modifier like بْنَةِ قُوَّةٍ “the son of strength,” i.e., “a mighty man” (BDB 121), rather than reading it as a patronym.

The name *Pandira / Panṭira* was noted by Jastrow (1186), but no derivation was suggested. The clue for the meaning is to be found in *Shabbath* 104^b which states:

It is tradition that Rabbi Eliezer said to the Wise, “Did not *Ben Satda* bring spells from Egypt in a cut which was upon his flesh?” They said to him, “He was a fool (חֲוֹתֶה), and they do not bring proof from fools.”

In light of the Arabic cognate فندر (*fandar*) “plump, wanting in courage, heavy, and stupid” (Lane 1877: 2449), it is obvious that شوتה / *Pandira* “stupid” is a synonym of חֲוֹתֶה “fool.” Were פָדִירָא / *Padira* attested in the Hebrew text,⁴⁰ the cognate would be فدر (*fadir*) “foolish, stupid, unsound intellect or understanding” (Lane 1877: 2351), which would make פָדִירָא an equally striking synonym of חֲוֹתֶה “fool.”

What can be learned from this Talmudic text is summarized as follows:

- (1) A certain *Miriam* was a woman’s hair dresser (*magedala*) about whom Babylonian Jews reported: “this one

(אָנָה) departed (נִפְלַּחֲתָה) from her husband,” thus qualifying her for the name *Satda* (אָנָה + מִתְּחַדֵּשׁ = אָנָתְּחַדֵּשׁ, i.e., a feminine pronoun + a feminine verb = a feminine name).

(2) This *Miriam Magdala*, alias *Satda*, was the wife of a man named *Satda*, but his name was obviously not composed of a feminine pronoun and feminine verb like the alias of his wife. His name meant “Ingenious/Teacher/Tutor.” But the husband *Satda* also had an alias, namely, *Pappos* which also meant “Teacher/Tutor,” as well as “Papa.” The son of mother *Satda* and father *Satda*—who was obviously called *Ben Satda*—ended up with an antonym as his alias, namely, *Ben Pandira* “Stupid/Fool,” which was to say that the “Son of Ingenuity” became the “Son of Stupidity,” and perhaps for what some saw at least as stupid behavior he was crucified on the eve of Passover at Lydda.⁴¹

(3) Rabbi Hisda made it clear that the derogatory epithet *Ben Pandira* was not only the alias of *Ben Satda*, but it was also the epithet given to the paramour of “Miriam the hairdresser,” who was certainly not the Mary Magdalene encountered in the Gospels nor Mary the mother of Jesus.⁴² The Roman *Diospolis* (= Lydda = לִיְדָה), where *Ben Satda* was hanged, was a day’s journey west of Jerusalem, precluding, on the basis of place alone, any possible association of this text with the Gospel traditions of Jesus’ crucifixion at Golgotha.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

While the focus of this study has been on the names *Miriam* (מִרְיָם), *Mary/Maria* (מִאֱרִיאָה), and *Magdalene* (מַגְדָּלִינָה),

reference has also been made in the text or endnotes to the derivation and meaning of nine other names. In summary they can be reviewed as follows (in alphabetic order):

- (1) *Aaron* (אַהֲרֹן) “rod, staff,” the cognate of Arabic هاروى (*harâwa*) “rod, staff, scepter,” enhanced with a prosthetic נ.
- (2) *Dalmanutha* (Δαλμανούθα) “seaman’s wall,” a compound name from the Aramaic דִּילְמָא “wall” and the Greek loanword ναύτης “sailor, seaman,” which appears in Arabic as نوَّاتٍ / نوَّاتٍ (*nutiyy / nawwât*) “a sailor upon the sea.”
- (3) *Magadan* (Μαγαδάν) “highland,” from the stem נָגֵד “to be conspicuous,” with a locative נ prefix, having the nuance of the Arabic cognate نجد (*najd*) “high or elevated land.”
- (4) *Moriah* (מוֹרִיה) “Yahweh is my Lord,” the equivalent of מֶרֶאָה / מֶרֶאָה, with مֶרֶאָה being equivalent to the Aramaic “lord” and the cognate of Arabic مُرْءَة (*murâ’*) “man” and مُرْعَة (*marû’ah*) “manly perfection.”
- (5) *Pandira/Panṭira* (פַּנְטִירָא / פַּנְטִירָא) “stupid,” the cognate of Arabic cognate فندر (*fandar*) and its by-form فدر (*fadir*) “stupid, fool.”
- (6) *Pappos* (Πάππος) “governor, grandfather, tutor.”
- (7) *Saba’im* (סָבָעִים) (1) “dyers,” the cognate of Arabic صبغ / صبغة (*sibg / sibâqat*)” and (2) “religious laws,” the cognate of Arabic صبغة / صبغة (*sabg / sabqat*) “religious law, religion.”
- (8) *Šiḥin* (שִׁחִין) “small salt fish,” the cognate of Arabic صحناء (*siḥnâ’*).

(9) *Satda* (אֲשָׁדָה) “an adulteress,” from a popular etymology based upon the Aramaic אַדְּ and אֲשָׁדִית, meaning “this one forsook [her husband].”

(10) *Satda* (אֲשָׁדָה) “ingenious, teacher, tutor, craftsman,” the Persian أَسْتَادْ (*‘ustâd*) borrowed as a loanword in Aramaic and Arabic.

Of the nine proposed derivations of מִרְיָם (Miryam) noted in this study, only the last one permits a common derivation for *Miriam*, *Mary* and *Martha*, which are simply variant feminine forms of the Aramaic cognate מִרְאָה / מִרְאֵה “man, lord.” *Martha* is the Aramaic equivalent of the Hebrew *Maria*, and *Miriam* is an older Hebrew form of the name having a suffixed -am, analogous to the suffixed -on on the name of Solomon (which is based on the word *Shalom*). All three can mean simply “Lady” or have the nuance attested with the Arabic اِمْرَأَة (‘imrat) “an excellent/perfect woman.”

The seven possible meanings of *Magdalene* can be found in the following contrived sentence: “the petite (מַגְדָּלָה) governess (מַגְדָּלָה) became the cheerful (מַגְדָּלָה) hairdresser (מַגְדָּלָה) deliberating (מַגְדָּלָה) at the tower (מַגְדָּלָה) named Magdala (מַגְדָּלָה).” Tradition has focused on the last two meanings, i.e., “the tower named *Magdala*” which has been identified with a site about three miles north of Tiberias now named *Mejdel*. But in gnostic traditions Mary Magdalene became renown for her forensic faculties when questioning Jesus and in deliberations with her fellow disciples.

While “Mary the hairdresser” of Talmudic tales received the epithet *Satda* “adulteress,” the Mary Magdalene of the Gospel texts and gnostic tradition deserved the epithet *Satda* “ingenious, tutor” in her quest for truth and her efforts to tutor

the disciples following her conversations and encounters with Jesus. It is most unfortunate that the chance similarity of the Greek *magdaliá* “dirt washed off” and the Aramaic *magdala*² —with all of its positive definitions—became *intertwined* (= מַגְדָּלָה) in Western traditions about Mary Magdalene, soiling her name and her reputation.

NOTES

1. Onesti (2000: 106–107). The effect of Gregory’s sermon has been long lasting, as Onesti noted:

But what Gregory did in associating Mary of Magdala with Luke’s unnamed sinful woman who anointed Jesus was to set the stage for Magdalene interpretation in the West for the next fifteen hundred years. It is unclear why Gregory would make such a biblically inaccurate association between these women. Yet, despite the lack of textual support in any Greek or even Latin biblical manuscript, Gregory’s series exercised tremendous influence on the history of exegesis in regard to Mary of Magdala.

There are now numerous efforts being made on the internet to reverse Gregory’s damage to Mary Magdalene’s reputation.

2. The verb πέπτω was used for the throwing of dice as well as for falling down or casting oneself down, suggesting that the morsels of bread could have been tossed to the dogs as well as those crumbs that accidentally fell from the table.

3. Rare words in the literature and the lexicons does not mean that the words were rare in the language, especially when they were apocopated non-literary terms. The word ἀπομαγδαλιά appears twice in one passage in Aristophanes’ *Knights* (lines 411 and 415), but something as common as a “napkin” (bread used to clean the fingers and then thrown to the dogs) must have been widely used.

4. The Shem Tob *Hebrew Gospel of Matthew* has two spellings of Mary Magdalene. In Matt 27:56 (= מִרְיָה מַגְדָּלִינָה = *Maria Magdalene*) appears, but in Matt 28:1 it reads מִרְיָם מַגְדָּלִינָה (= *Miriam Magdalene*), suggesting that *Maria* and *Miriam* were fully interchangeable. (For the Shem Tob text of Matthew, see Howard 1995: 146–149.)

5. Bardenhewer (1895), in a book I have not seen, reportedly dealt with seventy different meanings of the names *Mary* and *Miriam*. For a shorter list, see Ross 1962: III, 402.

6. I am indebted to Mr. Gilad Gevaryahu for this reference and a similar passage in *Yalkut Shimoni, Shemot* 165, “. . . Miriam, because in those days the Egyptians started to embitter the life of the sons of Israel.” The equation of מִ ים “sea” and מִ ים “water” and then with בָּאֵר “well” appears to lie behind a tradition in *Tanith* 9^a (Goldschmidt 1933, III: 432; Rabbinowitz 1938: 38), where it is noted, “when Miriam died, the well disappeared, as it is said, *And Miriam died there* [Num 20:1], and immediately follows [the verse], *And there was no water in the congregation.*” If the מִ ים of מִרְיָם could suggest a בָּאֵר, the מִ ים of מִרְיָם could be associated with the cognate of Arabic مَرَّة (*marra*) “it passed away, it passed along” (Lane 885: 2699). These associations could well have contributed to the traditions about the Well of Miriam roving about and eventually ending up in the Sea of Tiberias (see Ginzberg 1968, 3: 49–54).

7. Compare Maas (1912), who preferred this derivation, stating that “Orientals consider the idea of being well nourished as synonymous with beauty and bodily perfection, so that they would be apt to give their daughters a name derived from *mara*. Mary means therefore *The beautiful* or *The perfect one.*” According to Gardiner (1936: 195) this was Bardenhewer’s preferred derivation. But it is hard to imagine calling anyone a sacrificial “fatling.” If so,

it is easy to understand why *Miriam* was not a popular woman’s name for well over a thousand years.

8. The *Targum* on Micah 6:4 has a wordplay on מִרְיָם and מִרְמָה, with the notation that “Miriam was a teacher (מִרְמָה) for women.”

9. See von Soden 1981: 986–987, where *rīmu* and *rīmūtu* are cited with the meaning “Geschenk.”

10. Note also Bauer’s preference (1933: 87, note 2) for the stem רִימָם/Rīm meaning “wünschen, Wunsch, Wunschkind, gewünschter Gegenstand.” Lane (1867: 1194), Hava (1915: 279), and Wehr (1979: 428) define مَرْأَمْ (*marām*) as “wish, desire, craving, sought, sought for,” with no reference to a child being the object of the desire. Ross (1962: 402) stated that مَرْأَمْ (*marām*) meant “the wished-for child.” (See also note 13.)

11. For further discussion see the article by A. J. Maas, available at <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/15464a.htm> and the article from the Marian Library of the International Marian Research Institute at <http://www.udayton.edu/mary/questions/yq/yq17.html>. For the well known Stella Maris Carmelite monastery overlooking Haifa, see, for example, <http://www.israeltoday.co.il/article/Default.asp?CatID=7&ArticleID=75>.

12. I am indebted to Mr. Gilad Gevaryahu for this reference. See Jastrow 722 for נַאֲוֹר and 1265 for צַהַר, both meaning “light, light-hole, opening, window,” and צַהַר “glistening.” The sexual overtones associated with the נַחֲנָן “gift, hire [of a harlot]” indicates that צַהַר also had sexual overtones, like the Arabic cognate ظُهَارِيَّة (zuhāriyat) “coitus, a certain mode, or manner, of compressing” (Lane 1874: 1930). The Arabic مَئِير (ma’îr) “coitus” (Lane 1863: 136–137) could have contributed to the נַרְמָם of מִרְיָם having a sexual nuance hinted at in the נַחֲנָן of *Sotah* 12a.

13. Gardiner (1966:569) cited *mrwt* “love, wish” and *mrwyty* “the beloved.”

14. The names מִרְיָה (Neh 12:2), מֹרִיָּה (Gen 22:2), and Chr 5:32 can be derived from מֶרֶה / מֶרֶת “man, master, lord, Lord” (Jastrow 834). מִרְיָה and מִרְיָה could be the cognates of the Arabic مُرْعَة (*muruwa*) and مُرْعَة (*muruwat*) which are variant spellings of the word meaning “manliness, manly perfection” (Lane 1885: 2702–2703). In light of the use of מֶרֶא in Dan 2:47, מֶרֶא שָׁמְרִיא “Lord of kings” and in Dan 5:23, אֱלֹהֵי מֶרֶיָּה “Lord of heaven,” מֶרֶיָּה (*māriyā* > *mōriyā*) would be the equivalent of אֱלֹהֵי מֶרֶיָּה “Yahweh is my Lord.” See below, the discussion on derivation number 9 in the list. Devila stated (1985) that “the actual meaning [of *Moriah*] is unknown.”

15. The initial *’alif* of اِمْرَأة (*imrât*) is a “conjunctive *’alif*” (Wright 1962: 20–21), corresponding to the prosthetic נ in Hebrew, which means it is not a part of the stem. The usual feminine -*ât* ending of *’imrât* corresponds to the rare feminine –*am* ending in the name *Miriam*.

Just as this Arabic cognate brings clarity to the meaning of Miriam, another cognate, هَرَّاوِي (*harâwi*) or هَرَّاوَة (*harâwat*) “stick, scepter, staff, rod” and هَرَاء [*hirâ’*] “shoot of a palm-tree” (Lane 1893: 2889; Hava 1915: 826; Wehr 1979: 1203;) brings clarity to the meaning of אַהֲרֹן “Aaron.” The proverbial “Aaron’s rod” is rooted in his name. The initial נ of אַהֲרֹן is a prosthetic נ, mentioned above, which was added to the Hebrew חָרֹן. The final נ of אַהֲרֹן is a suffix, mentioned below in footnote 18. Thus, אַהֲרֹן is from the stem חָרְוָן* “to beat with a rod” and חָרְוָן* (*harwon* > *harôn*) “staff, rod, scepter.” Just as *Miriam* has the rare –*am* ending instead of the usual –*at* termination, *Aaron* has the –*ôn*

ending found in proper names like *Solomon*. Aaron’s rod appears in Exo 7:8–13, 18–20; 8:5–7, 16–19; and Num 17:6–8. Another example of a “rod or staff” appearing as a noun and a proper name is מְקֹלָה / מְקֹל (BDB 596).

16. Μαριάμμη / *Mariamme*, the variant spelling of *Miriam* found in Josephus (*Antiquity of the Jews*, II: 221 and III: 54; see Naber 1888, I: 113, 149; Whiston 1974, II: 155, 187), reflects the lengthening of the *-am* suffix and the use of Greek case endings. For examples of the reduplication of the final letter of Hebrew stems see GKC 84^{b k-m}.

17. Other words and names ending with *-am* or *-om* are cited in GKC 85^t.

18. The masculine name *Marion* (מִרְיָם = Μαρίων) has the same derivation, but the noun מִרְיָם means “rebel” (Jastrow 842). Other words/names ending with *-ôn* or *-ûn* are cited in GKC 85^u and 86^g. See note 14 for other names derived from מִרְאָה / מִרְאָה.

19. Note especially the sixth tableau, called “The Perfections of Mary,” in the famous “Tapestry of Our Lady” in Reims, France. See <http://www.udayton.edu/mary/questions/yq/yq204.html>. In Islam the Virgin Mary is esteemed more highly than the wife or the mother of Mohammed.

20. The Μαγαδᾶν of Matt 15:39 can be derived from נַגֵּד “to be conspicuous, in front of” (BDB 616), but having the nuance of Arabic cognate نَجْد (najd) “high or elevated land or country, highland, . . . an elevated or mountain road” (Lane 1893: 2766–2767), which appears in the place name نَجْد (Nejd) for the Arabian highland. The original name, with a prefix מ designating a place and a suffix י indicating a name (see above note 18), was probably מַנְגֵּד, which became מַנְגֵּן with the assimilation of the

initial נ of the stem. It is probably a reference to Mount Arbel which towers above Magdala.

The *Dalmanutha* (Δαλμανουθά) of Mark 8:10 is a compound name of (1) the Aramaic דִילמָא “wall” (Strange 1992: 4, citing *Kilayim* 32^d) and (2) the Greek ναύτης “sailor, seaman” which appears in Arabic as نوْتَى (nūtiyy / nāwwāt) “a sailor upon the sea.” In the *Siháh* of El-Jowharee (died c. 1015 C.E.) it was stated that نوْتَى (nūtiyy) came “from the language of the people of Syria.” Evidently, ναύτης had become a Greek loanword in Aramaic, and from Aramaic into Arabic. If so, the דְלַמְנוֹתָה in the Aramaic/Hebrew source of Mark should have been read as the compound دِيلَمْ-نُوْتَى “Sailors’ Wall” rather than as the unknown abstract دَلْمَنُوْتَى.

All three (Magadan, Magdala, Dalmanutha) point to the same general area: Dalmanutha was the *Sailors’ Wall* at the tower of Magdala—that particular Magdala which was in the region of Magadan, i.e., the one near the *highland* of Mount Arbel. In light of Jos 12:2, where the MT שֶׁבֶת “shore, bank” was translated by μέρος, the phrase ἦλθεν εἰς τὰ μέρη Δαλμανουθά in Mark 8:10 could mean simply, “he went to shore at the *Sailors’ Wall*.”

21. The Greek μάγδωλος “watch-tower” is obviously an Aramaic/Hebrew loanword, unrelated to the μαγδᾶλια discussed above in the Introduction. The name Magdiel in Gen 36:43 was noted as follows in the *Targum Yerushalmi*, מְנִידִיאֵל עַל שֵׁם עִירּוֹ נִקְרָא, “Magdiel was named after his city, (for) its strong tower.” Contrary to this tradition, lexicographers generally derive *Magdiel* from מְגַד “excellence” and אל “God.” (See BDB 550.)

22. See *Pesahim* 46^a (Goldschmidt 1933: 483; Freedman 1951: 219) where Migdal Nunia was said to be a *mil* (= 2000 cubits) distant from Tiberias. (דְמִיל כִּמְמִגְדָּל נָונִיא וְעַד טְבִרִיאָה). For an internet site of interest, see <http://www.ourfatherlutheran.net/biblehomelands/galilee/magdala.htm>.

23. Note the Arabic صحناء (*sihnâ*) “a certain condiment, or seasoning made of fish, small salt fish” (Lane 1872: 1656; Hava 1915: 390; Wehr 1979: 590). *Shîhîn* (*Sîhîn*) and *Migdol Nûniya*, could be identified in Greek as Tarichea, “Salt Fish Center.” For the interchange of צ (צ) and ש/ם, note נחט נחט (BDB 683).

24. The gloss in the midrash identified this מגדל with מגדלא צבעים “Tower of Dyers” which was destroyed because of harlotry (צבוי זנות). The Arabic cognates of צבע are صبغة / صبغ (*ṣibḡ* / *ṣibāḡat*) “dye, the art of the dyer” and صبغة / صبغ (*ṣabḡ* / *ṣibḡat*) “religion, religious law, anything whereby one advances himself in the favour of God” (Lane 1872: 1648). Thus, the מגדלא צבעים may have also implied a “Tower of Torah.”

25. The צנות “harlotries” referred to in this midrash could actually be the cognate of Arabic زون (*zūn*) “an idol, and anything taken as a deity and worshiped beside God . . . a place in which idols are collected and set up” (Lane 1867: 1273, 1268). See also Chapter IX, page 93, above.) Idolatry at Magdala could have been a more serious problem than prostitution at Magdala. The מגדלאה surname of several rabbinic scholars may well have referred to מגדל צבעים with its religious overtones, “because צבע ‘religion’ intermingles in the heart like the צבע ‘dye’ in a garment” (paraphrasing a phrase from Lane’ lexicon).

26. It is interesting to note how Lightfoot (1658: 3:87, 375) equated the plaiting of hair with prostitution. He stated:

Whence she was called *Magdalene*, doth not so plainly appear; whether from *Magdala*, a town on the lake of Gennesaret, or from the word מגדלא which signifies a *plaiting* or *curling of the hair*, a thing usual with harlots.

... The title which they [the Talmudists] gave their Mary [מַגְדָּלָה] is so like this of ours [*Magdalene*], that you may with good reason doubt whether she was called *Magdalene* from the town of *Magdala*, or from that word of the Talmudist, מַגְדָּלָה *a plaiter of hair*. We leave it to the learned to decide.

Lightfoot was able to equate Mary Magdalene's demons with vices by appealing to Talmudic usage which was "wont to call vices by the name of devils: as 'An evil affection is Satan' [Gloss. in *Joma*, fol. 67.2]; 'Drunkenness by new wine is a devil' [Gittim, fol. 77.2, &c.] . . . by *devils* seems to be understood the *vices* to which she was addicted"

27. KBS (I: 178–180) *sub voce* נֶדֶל cited Arabic *jazula* and *jadaila* with *jadala* "to twist, to plait, rope" but *jazala* means "to cut, to be chaste, to be generous, to be correct" (Lane 1865: 420; Hava 1915: 89; Wehr 1979: 147).

28. See Abrahams 1938: 17.

29. The Coptic *Gospel of Thomas* (Guillaumont 1959: 56–57) ends with Peter saying, "Let Mary go out from among us, because women are not worthy of the Life," to which Jesus replied. "See, I shall lead her, so that I will make her male, that she too may become a living spirit, resembling you males. For every woman who makes herself male will enter the Kingdom of Heaven." Behind the Coptic ΣΟΟΥΤΠ (*hooit*) "male," which occurs here three times, was a *Vorlage* with either Hebrew זְכָר or Aramaic דְּכָר, both of which are cognates of Arabic ذَكَر (*dakara*), and all three of which mean either (1) "male, male organ" or (2) "remembrance, memory" (BDB 269–271). The Arabic ذَكَر (*dakara*) also means "repentance" and "obedience" (Lane 1867: 969, 971), with its use in the *Qur'an* (*Sura* 89:24) of particular interest. It deals with repentance which comes too late for a person to enter the Kingdom (literally, "enter among My servants, enter My Garden").

Thy Lord shall come with angels rank upon rank . . .
 On that day a man will repent (يَتَذَكَّرُ [yataadakkaru]),
 But how will repentance (الذَّكْرِي [addikri]) avail him?

With this Arabic cognate in focus, the דְּכָר / זְכָר in the *Vorlage* of *Logia* 114 meant that Jesus would lead Mary to “repentance” and “obedience,” promising that any repentant woman could enter the kingdom as readily as any male penitent—thereby dismissing Peter’s chauvanistic request. Given the ambiguity of Hebrew/Aramaic דְּכָר / זְכָר, it is easy to see how the *Vorlage* was interpreted to promote a Gnostic gender agenda.

30. For reading *Pistis Sophia*, the *Gospel of Mary*, the *Gospel of Philip*, and other gnostic text including the Nag Hammadi texts online, see <http://www.gnosis.org/library.html>. Otherwise, note Robinson (1977: 130, 135–138, 470–474) and Mead (1921).

31. The Arabic cognate of حَلْقَة is *ḥāliqat* “the cutting, or abandoning, or forsaking, of kindred, or relations . . . and mutual wrong doing, and evil speaking . . . or that which destroys, and utterly cuts off, religion” (Lane 1865: 630). Rendering גְּדֹלוּת “contentiousness” as “contentiously” is in the interest of idiomatic English.

32. According to the apocryphal *Gospel of Nicodemus* (2:3), Mary, the mother of Jesus, was indirectly charged with fornication when the Jewish elders said to Jesus at his trial before Pilate, “. . . thou wast born of fornication.” This charge was also made by Celsus, who according to Origen, said that when the mother of Jesus “was pregnant she was turned out of doors by the carpenter to whom she had been betrothed, as having been guilty of adultery, and that she bore a child to a certain soldier named Panthera.” See Chadwick 1953: 31–32) and James (1924: 98–99) for the full text of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*. Verses 2:3–5 are as follows:

The elders of the Jews answered and said unto Jesus: What shall we see? Firstly, that thou wast born of fornication; secondly, that

thy birth in Bethlehem was the cause of the slaying of children; thirdly, that thy father Joseph and thy mother Mary fled into Egypt because they had no confidence before the people. Then said certain of them that stood by, devout men of the Jews: We say not that he came of fornication; but we know that Joseph was betrothed unto Mary, and he was not born of fornication. Pilate saith unto those Jews which said that he came of fornication: This your saying is not true for there were espousals, as these also say which are of your nation. Annas and Caiaphas say unto Pilate: The whole multitude of us cry out that he was born of fornication, and we are not believed: but these are proselytes and disciples of his.

33. Shachter and Freedman 1935: 456.

34. The Hebrew text has **בן סטרא** **בָּן פַּנְדִּירָא הַוָּא** (Goldschmidt 1: 564 and 7: 285), whereas the English text of Shachter and Freedman (1935: 456) reads *Padira* rather than *Pandira*. Jastrow (1137, 1186) does not cite **פַּדִּירָא** among the variant spellings of this name.

35. **פַּמְבְּדִיתָא** means “the mouth of the *Bēdītā*.”³ The *Bēdītā* was a canal along the Euphrates. A great Jewish academy in Babylon was located there (Jastrow 1142).

36. **שְׁטֵיתָה דָּא** “this one deserted (her husband)” is a popular etymology combining **אָשָׁם** “to go astray, to be faithless” and the feminine **אָדָּה** “this one.” (The variant **אָשָׁתָּה דָּא** appears in *Sanhedrin* 67^a.) Shachter and Freedman (1935: 457, n. 5) commented that “Derenbourg (*Essai* note 9, pp. 468–471) rightly denies the identity of Ben Stada with Jesus, and regards him simply as a false prophet executed during the second century at Lydda.”

37. See Box 1916: 201 for several attempts to force the name to mean “the son of a harlot.”

38. Note פַּנְדִּירָה and פַּנְטִירָה “to seize” and the interchange of פַּנְדִּירָה and פַּנְטִירָה in the various spellings of *Pandira / Panṭira*, noted below.

39. The loanword أَسْتَادُ (*‘ustād*) is used widely in modern Arabic for academic titles like “master” and “professor” and to address intellectuals (Wehr 1979: 18–19).

40. In the Soncino English edition of the text, Shachter and Freedman (1935: 457) list the names as Padira and Pandira. However, in the printed Hebrew text, Goldschmidt (1933 1: 564 and 7: 285) has פֵּנְדִּירָה for *Ben Stada*^o and the paramour of “mother *Stada*.”

41. Crucifixion was not uncommon. Josephus wrote of Alexander Janneus’ crucifixion of 800 Jewish fighters while still alive—after the victims watched the murder of their wives and children before their eyes—in response to the outcry of many Jews for Janneus to do the people a favor and kill himself (*Antiquities* XIII: 14: 379–383; see Whinston 1974: III, 265; Naber 1892: II, 211).

42. While the Greek/Latin πάνθηρ/*panthera* “panther” was, according to Diessman (1906: 871–872), a common surname for Roman soldiers at that time, it is unlikely that the hard פַּנְטִירָה reflects the soft Θ of the Greek πάνθηρ. Consequently, there seems to be little reason to appeal to πάνθηρ as the Greek loanword which produced the name *Pandira / Panṭira*. However, it would not be surprising that a derogatory pun was used for any Roman soldier named *Panther*—suggesting fierceness—to be called in Aramaic פֵּנְטִירָה “Chubby/Coward/Fool.”

XXXIII
“DO YOU LOVE ME
MORE THAN KITH-AND-KIN?”
JOHN 21:15–17

INTRODUCTION

John 21:15a

Σύμων Ἰωάννου,¹ ἀγαπᾶς με πλέον τούτων;
λέγει αὐτῷ, Ναὶ κύριε, σὺ οἶδας ὅτι φιλῶ σε.

Simon of John, do you love me more than these?
He said to him, “Yes, Lord; you know that I love you.”

The Greek text has ἀγαπᾶς “love” as the verb in Jesus’ question to Peter and φιλῶ as the verb in Peter’s response. The significance of Peter’s changing the verb from ἀγαπᾶν to φιλεῖν has been thoroughly debated, with a number of commentators convinced that Peter, perhaps from guilt over his threefold denial of Jesus (Matt 26:74–75), would not use the lofty verb ἀγαπᾶν, but humbled and humiliated could only respond with a contrite φιλεῖν.

Other commentators have disagreed with any conclusion that φιλεῖν was a less lofty verb than ἀγαπᾶν. Bernard (1923: 703) concluded that ἀγαπᾶν and φιλεῖν are “practically synonyms” in the Gospel of John, noting that both verbs are used for (1) God’s love for man, (2) the Father’s love for the Son, (3) Jesus’ love for men, (4) the love of people for other people, (5) the love of people for Jesus, and (6) the love of people for God. Consequently, for Bernard “it would be precarious to lay stress on the change of ἀγαπᾶς in vv. 15 and 16 to φιλεῖς in v.17.”

Similarly, Brown (1970: 1103) aligned himself with the ancient scholars like Chrysostom and Cyril of Alexandria, with the Reformation scholars like Erasmus and Grotius, and with more modern scholars like Bernard, Moule, Freed, and McKay—against other scholars like Trench, Westcott, Marsh, and Plummer—by denying any clear distinction of meaning in the alternation of ἀγαπᾶν and φιλεῖν in 21:15–17. One of his reasons for taking this position was

In Hebrew and Aramaic there is one basic verb expressing the various types of love, so that all the subtlety of distinction that commentators find in the use of the two verbs in 15–17 scarcely echoes the putative Semitic original. We note that LXX uses both verbs to translate Hebrew *'ahēb*, although *agapan* is twenty times more frequent than *philein*. In the Syriac translation of 15–17 only one verb is used.

Aside from this reference to the “putative Semitic original,” the Hebrew or Aramaic which may have been used in the actual conversation between Jesus and Peter received almost no attention in Brown’s twenty-two page discussion on John 21:15–23. Actually, Hebrew had a rather rich vocabulary for “love” and “lovers,” including the widely used אֶחָד (Deut 6:4), the familial or intimate רֵעַה (Jer 3:1),² the romantic דָוִר (Cant 1:24), and the compassionate רְחִמָּה (Psa 18:1). Moreover, the Aramaic familial חֲבָר and the Syriac *hēbar* correspond in part to the semantic range of Hebrew familial רֵעַ.³

THE MEANINGS OF רֵעַה AND אֶלְהָ

Since no Hebrew or Aramaic text of Jesus’ conversation with Peter is available, commentators have been reluctant to speculate over the Semitic *Vorlage*, contenting themselves with defining the nuances of ἀγαπᾶν and φιλεῖν. However,

the debate could be resolved if the following Hebrew texts were given due consideration. The first significant text is Isa 61:3, which reads in the MT and the Septuagint as follows:

וְקָרָא לֵהֶם אִילִי הַצְּדָקָה מַטָּע יְהוָה לְהַתְּפִאָר

that they might be called *oaks* of righteousness,
the planting of Yahweh that he may be glorified

**καὶ κληθήσονται γενέαὶ δικαιοσύνης
φύτευμα κυρίου εἰς δόξαν**

and they shall be called *generations* of righteousness,
the planting of the Lord for glory.

The MT **אִילִי** (rendered “trees” or “oaks” or “terebinth” in standard translations) became in Greek the plural of γενέα “family, race, generation, clan, offspring” (Liddell and Scott 342; Arndt and Gingrich 153).

The Greek translators were obviously aware of that **אֱלֹהִים** / **אִילִי** which was the cognate of Arabic **آل** (*'âl*) and **('**ilat) meaning “a man’s family, i.e., his relations or kinfolk; or nearer, or nearest, relations by descent from the same father or ancestor; . . . household, followers; those who bear a relation, as members to a head” (Lane 1863: 127–128).⁴

In support of the Greek reading γενέαι “family, generation, one’s people, relations” in Isa 61:3 is the parallel in Isa 60:21,

וְעַמְקָד בָּלְם צְדִיקִים . . . נִצְר מַטָּע/מַטָּעִי [Q/K]

*your people—all of them—shall all be righteous . . .
the branch of my/his [Q/K] planting*

**καὶ ὁ λαός σου πᾶς δίκαιος . . .
φυλάσσων⁵ ὁ φύτευμα**

*all your people also shall be all righteous . . .
preserving that which they have planted.*

The **אִילִי** of 61:3 and the **עָם** of 60:21 are interchangeable, although, admittedly, **עָם** was as common as **אִילִי** was rare.⁶

Although noted in Castell’s lexicon (1669: 58, 115, “*populus, asseclae, affines, familia, domestici*”) the Arabic cognate ﷺ (אֱלֹהֶה / אֵילָל = لِلَّهُ / إِلَلَّا) has dropped out of subsequent lexicons. Although rarely found in the literature, it probably appears in the name ﷺ (אֱלֹיָאֵל) (Ελιηλ / Αλιηλ) in I Chron 11:46–47, meaning the same as the ﷺ (אֱלֹעַמְּ) (Ελιαβ) in II Sam 11:3 and the ﷺ (עִמְּיָאֵל) (Αμιηλ) in I Chron 3:5—all meaning “God is my kinsman”—which are much like רְעוּאֵל (Ραγουηλ) “God is my kinsman” and אֲבִיהָ and אֲחִיהָ and “Yahweh is my brother/father.”

In Lam 1: 5, 11, 15, 16, and 19 there are numerous references to the family and community members over whom the personified Jerusalem lamented, including

אֲהַבְּתִּיהָ	(ἀγαπώντων αὐτῆν)	“her lovers”
רְעוּאֵל	(φιλοῦντες αὐτήν)	“her family members”
עֲוָלָלִיהָ	(νήπια αὐτῆς)	“her little ones”
עַמָּה	(λαός αὐτῆς)	“all her people”
אֲבִירִי	(ἰσχυρούς μου)	“my mighty ones”
בְּחָנָרִי	(ἐκλεκτούς μου)	“my young men”
מִאֲהָבִי	(ἐραστάς μου)	“my loved ones”
זְקָנִי	(οἱ πρεσβύτεροί μου)	“my elders”
פְּהָנִי	(οἱ λερεῖς μου)	“my priests”
בָּנִי	(υἱοί μου)	“my sons”

In view of this focus on Zion’s “kith and kin,” (i.e. on *people* rather than *things*) the phrase עַל-אֱלֹהֶה אָנִי בָּוְכִיהָ in Lam 1:16, commonly translated “for *these things* I weep,” would be better translated “for kith-and-kin I weep,” with

אֲלֹהִים being repointed as **אֲלֹהִים**.⁷ In light of this definition, along with the Septuagint's translation of **אֲלֹהִים** in Isa 61:3 as γενέαν, Hebrew **אֲלֹהִים** can mean (1) “these”, (2) “to curse,” (3) “to wail,” (4) “terebinth, oak tree” (5) “lance, fork, sign-pole,” (6) **אֱלֹהָה**/אֲלֹהִים “God,” and (7) “kith and kin.” This last definition is the key for interpreting Jesus' question to Peter, ἀγαπᾷς με πλέον τούτων “do you love me more than these?” (discussed below).

Prov 18:24 sheds significant light on the difference between ἀγαπᾶν (when it equals **אהוב**) and φιλεῖν (when it equals **רעה**). It reads

א[ת] יש רעים להתריע ויש אהב קבק מאנח⁸

There are kinfolk who proffer special friendship,⁹
but there is a loving one who sticks closer than a brother.

The contrast here between **רעה** (= **רע**/**רעה**) to share in “familial love” or “brotherly love”) and **אהוב** “the loving one” definitely places the latter as more lofty than the former.

On the other hand, the use of **רעה** Jud 14:20, וְתֵהִי אַשְׁתָּה (= **רעה**/**רעה**) “Samson's wife was given to his special friend, who had been his best man,” also needs to be in focus when interpreting the conversation between Jesus and Peter in John 21:15–17. Of special interest is the denominative *Pi'el* **רעה** “to love in a special way,” coupled with **מִרְעָעִים** “friend, best man, confidential friend.”¹⁰

JESUS' DIALOGUE WITH PETER

If Jesus' question to Peter (ἀγαπᾷς με πλέον τούτων; “do you love me more than these?”) had been asked in Hebrew it

could have been stated as either or **הַתְּהִבָּנִי יוֹתֵר מְאֵלָה** or **הַחֲתָה חָתָב אֶתְּנִי יוֹתֵר מְאֵלָה**. Either way, the meaning was more likely to have been, “Do you love kith-and-kin more than me?” Far from **אֵלָה** being the indefinite τούτων “these” (which could have meant anything from Peter’s fishing gear to his fellow fishermen) it was a very definite reference to Peter’s γενεά, his “family, clan, kith-and-kin.” The Matthean (10:37) indicative statement of Jesus,

‘Ο φιλῶν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα ὑπὲρ ἐμὲ
οὐκ ἔστιν μου ἄξιος,
καὶ ὁ φιλῶν υἱὸν ἢ θυγατέρα ὑπὲρ ἐμὲ
οὐκ ἔστιν μου ἄξιος

Whoever loves father or mother more than me
is not worthy of me;
and whoever loves son or daughter more than me
is not worthy of me,

became the Johannine (21:15) interrogative “Do you love me more than kith-and-kin?” The question may have been in anticipation of Peter’s ministry with Gentiles. Was he so locked into his Jewish clan that he would insist that “it is unlawful for a Jew to associate with or to visit any one of another nation” (Acts 10:28)? Or would his love for Jesus permit him to affirm—as he later did—“I truly understand that God shows no partiality, but in every nation anyone who fears him and does what is right is acceptable to him!” (Acts 10:34f.)?

Thus, Jesus asked, “**הַתְּהִבָּנִי יוֹתֵר מְאֵלָה**” “Do you love me more than ‘family’ or ‘clan’ or your ‘ethnic’ identity?” Jesus asked the question in the spirit of Prov 18:24, for while “there are kith and kin who proffer friendship,” Jesus was asking about “a loving one (**בָּהָן** = ἀγαπᾶν) who sticks closer than a brother.”

If the response of Peter to Jesus was in Hebrew, he probably did *not* say **אֶתְּבָב אַתְּ**—since the Greek became φιλεῖν rather than ἀγαπᾶν. Peter’s Hebrew was either **אֶרְעָה אַתְּ** or **אֶרְעִיךְ**, with the verb being the intensive *Piel* רָעַה, which was well translated as φιλεῖν in the Septuagint of Jud 14:20, where ἐνὶ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ ὃν ἐφιλίασεν appears for the MT לְמַרְעֵהוּ אֲשֶׁר רָעָה לוֹ “to his special friend, who had been his best man.” Peter seemingly opted for an intensive form of a verb which carried the nuance of the special love of a confidant. It was no less lofty than **אֶבֶב** but it was a great deal more specific, reflecting the special relationship established earlier in John 15:15 when Jesus called the disciples φίλους (= **רָעִים**) “loving confidants,” which Brown (1970: 659) translated, “I have called you my beloved, for I have revealed to you everything I heard from the Father.”

The force of the Peter’s choice of **רָעָה** would match its use in Psa 37:3–4, וְרָעָה אִמְנוֹנָה וְהַחֲנֹן עַל־יְהוָה “cherish faithfulness and take exquisite delight in Yahweh.” Both imperatives, **רָעָה** and the **הַחֲנֹן**, convey the idea of “exquisite love,” which is unambiguous considering the **עַנְנָה** in Cant 7:7, אֶתְּבָה אֶתְּבָה בְּתַעֲנוֹנוֹנִים “O Love, daughter of delights.”¹¹ When limiting the inquiry about Peter’s choice of verbs to the nuances of Greek φιλεῖν, the intensive force of Peter’s affirmation in Hebrew—“I cherish you!”—and its nuance of the love of a confidant or best man never comes into focus.¹²

Jesus seemingly took advantage of Peter’s use of **רָעָה** instead of **אֶבֶב** as an opportunity for some didactic paronomasia with (1) **רָעָה** “to love as a confidant or best man/friend,” (2) **רָעָה** meaning literally “to pasture, to tend, to feed, and (3) **רָעָה** used as a metaphor meaning “to pastor, to lead, to teach,

to rule.” While the oral tradition could easily distinguish between רַעַת “feed!” and רַעַת “love!” the written tradition did not. With these texts, definitions, and nuances in focus, the conversation between Jesus and Peter can be reconstructed (with uninflected stems in parentheses) as follows:

“Simon of John, do you *love* (בָּהֵן) me
more than *kith-and-kin* (חֲלֵן)?”

[Peter] said to him,

“Yes, Lord, you know that I *cherish*¹³ (חָנַךְ) you.”

Jesus said to him, “Feed (רֹאשׁ) my lambs!”¹⁴

A second time he said to him,

“Simon of John, do you *love* (בָּהֵן) me?”

[Peter] said to him,

“Yes, Lord; you know that I *cherish* (חָנַךְ) you.”

Jesus said to him, “Lead (חָנַךְ) my sheep!”¹⁵

He said to him the third time,

“Simon of John, do you *cherish* (חָנַךְ) me?”

Peter felt hurt because he said to him the third time,

“Do you *cherish* (חָנַךְ) me?”

And he said to him,

“Lord, you know everything;

you know that I *cherish* (חָנַךְ) you.”

Jesus said to him, “cherish (חָנַךְ) my lambs!”¹⁶

CONCLUSION

As reconstructed—by reading רַעַת “Cherish!” rather than רַעַת “Lead!”—the climax of Jesus’ dialogue with Peter was a command for the new shepherd to *love*, not just to *lead*. The command resonates well with Matt 25:40, “Truly, I say to you, as you did it to one of the least (ἐλαχίστων = מִצְעִירִים)¹³

of these my brethren, you did it to me.” Peter’s profound love for Jesus was to be extended to Jesus’ flock. Therefore, Brown’s statement (1970: 1115), “The love demanded from Peter is for Jesus and *not explicitly for the flock . . .*” (italics mine), requires reconsideration in light of this reconstruction and in light of I John 4:21, ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὸν θεόν ἀγαπᾷ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ “he who loves God must love his brother also”—the force of which would remain the same were the noun θεόν replaced by the name Ἰησοῦν.

In the language of John 10:14–15 and I Pet 5:4, Jesus as the Good Shepherd (ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλὸς) and the Head Shepherd (ἀρχιποίμενος) had laid down his life for the sheep—having practiced what he preached: “Greater love has no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends (φίλων αὐτοῦ). In what appears to be an ascending order of importance the Good Shepherd instructed the new shepherd

- TO FEED THE SHEEP (21:15), with Matt 25:31–46 providing the commentary for Peter’s taking this command literally: “For I was hungry and you gave me food, I was thirsty and you gave me drink . . .”
- TO LEAD THE FLOCK (21:16), with I Peter 5:2 providing a commentary: “Tend the flock of God which is among you, serving as overseers, not by compulsion but willingly, not for dishonest gain but eagerly.”
- TO LOVE THE LAMBS (21:17), with John 13:34–35 providing the commentary: “Just as I have loved you, you also should love one another. By this everyone will know that you are my disciples if you have love for one another.”
- TO GIVE HIS LIFE FOR THE FLOCK (21:18), with I John 3:16 providing a commentary: “By this we know love, that he laid down his life for us; and we ought to lay down our lives for one another.”

- TO FOLLOW HIM (21:19, 22), with Luke 9:23 being the commentary for this command: “and he said to all, ‘If any man would come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross daily and follow me.’”

Only by retroverting the Βόσκε of 21:17 to רָעַה and interpreting it as רָעַה “Love!” or “Cherish!” do the indicative statements about Peter’s later laying down his life follow naturally from this command to “love/cherish the lambs.”

The *Vorlage* of the command in 21:19, 22, Ἀκολούθει μοι “Follow me!” may have used the language of Ruth 1:14, “Ruth followed (ἠκολούθησεν) her,” where the ἀκολουθέω translated דָבַק “to follow closely, to cleave/cling to.” If Jesus said דָבַק בִּי “stay close to me” or “stay devoted to me” it would have echoed (1) the command in Deut 22:11; 30:20; and Jos 22:5 “to love Yahweh your God . . . and to follow him closely” לְאֹהֶב אֱלֹהִים . . . וְלִדְבֹּקֵה בָּבוֹ, as well as (2) Prov 18:24, noted above.¹⁷

In John 10:16 Jesus had declared, “I have other sheep that do not belong to this fold. I must bring them also, and they will listen to my voice. So there will be one flock, one shepherd.” The command to “Follow me!” was the Jesus’ invitation for Peter to lovingly embrace the sheep who were not of the household of Israel or of the tribe of Judah.

The dialogue ended with Jesus’ permitting the “Beloved Disciple” to remain [with his own Jewish people], whereas Peter, the “Loving Disciple,” was to move on to shepherd the larger flock of Jews and Gentiles. With this goal in mind, Jesus had initiated the dialogue with the question, “Simon of John, do you love me more than kith-and-kin?” In the ninety second dialogue recorded in John 21:15–22, the reader is given no indication that Peter directly addressed in word the מִאֵלָה “more than kith-and-kin” part of Jesus’ question. But

what was missing in his words became apparent in his deeds. Even Paul—while asserting “I had been entrusted with the gospel for the uncircumcised, just as Peter had been entrusted with the gospel for the circumcised” (Gal 2:7)—recognized that Peter’s love for Jesus had freed him to “live like a Gentile and not like a Jew” (Gal 2:14). Thus, it is not surprising to read in the apocryphal *Acts of Peter* (31–41) of Peter’s living in Rome where, according to tradition, he loved his flock of Gentiles and Jews enough to die on a cross as did his Lord.

NOTES

1. In John 1:42 the text reads Σίμων ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Ιωάννου “Simon the son of John.” The omission of ὁ υἱὸς here seems to emphasize the τοῦ Ιωάννου, perhaps being Jesus’ way of reminding Simon that Yahweh is indeed gracious and forgiving, as this name affirms, so that nothing more needed to be said about Peter’s earlier denials.
2. Whereas the Vulgate has *amatoribus* “lovers,” which is followed by most English translations, the Septuagint rendered it ποιμέσιν “shepherds.” Compare Hos 12:2 where the MT אָפְרַיִם רֹעֶה רֹעֵה became *Ephraim pascit ventum* “Ephraim feeds on wind” in the Vulgate, but Εφραϊμ ποιηρὸν πνεῦμα “Ephraim is an *evil* spirit” in the Septuagint. Wolff (1974:201) translated it as “Ephraim *befriends* the wind”; and Young (YLT) has “Ephraim is *enjoying* wind”—based on the Aramaic רְעֵה/רְעֵת “to take delight in” (see Jastrow 1486). For another example, dealing with the ambiguity of עֲדָה, rather than רְעֵה, see the Addendum following note 14.
3. In the Septuagint ἀγαπᾶν, ἀγάπη, and ἀγαπητός translated not only אֶחָד but also אֶחָב, יְחִיד, יְקִרְבָּה, רְחִמָּה, שְׁעָרָה and twelve other stems; φιλεῖν, φιλία, and φίλος translated רְדוֹד, אֶחָב, רְעֵה, and four other stems (Hatch and Redpath 1954: 5; 1430). The statement by Bernard (1923: 704) that

$\alpha\gamma\alpha\pi\alpha\nu$ and $\phi\iota\lambda\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ are indifferently used in the LXX to translate the Hebr. **אֶחָד**; this Hebrew root being nearly always behind $\alpha\gamma\alpha\pi\alpha\nu$ and always behind $\phi\iota\lambda\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ except when $\phi\iota\lambda\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ means ‘to kiss,’ when it represents **קִשְׁׁשַׁת**

failed to mention that $\phi\iota\lambda\bar{\nu}\alpha$ and $\phi\iota\lambda\bar{\nu}\sigma$ frequently translated **רֹעֵה**. It would not be surprising if $\phi\iota\lambda\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ had been used also to translate **רָעָה** “to cherish, to associate with” or the *Pi^cel* denominative “to love in a special way” (BDB 945–946). The synonyms **רָעָה** and **אֶחָד** appear in Psa 38:11, **אֶחָבִי וָרָעִי . . . קָרוּבִי . . .** “my loved ones and my kinfolk . . . and my relatives.”

4. It was a synonym of **اَهْل** (*'ahl*) “the people of a house or dwelling, and of a town or village . . . and the family of a man, fellow members of one family or race, and of one religion” (Lane 1863: 121). Lane (127) noted that “By the **آل** (*'al*) of the Prophet are meant, accord[ing] to some persons, His followers, whether relations or others: and his relations, whether followers or not” For this reason “kith-and-kin” [hyphenated at times to correspond to the one word in Hebrew and Arabic] is probably the best English translation. The term appears in the *Qur'an* (*Sura 3:9, 8:54 and 56*) in reference to “the family of Pharaoh” [*'ala fir'awnu*]). The word survives in modern literary Arabic for “blood relationship, consanguinity, pact, covenant” (Wehr 1979: 27).

5. Reading **נִצְרָן** for the MT **נִצְרָן**.

6. An analogy from English would be the current use of “family” and “kith and kin.” A sample check on one internet database came up with 38,000 references to “kith and kin” and 68,000,000 references to “family.”

7. On the *qitl* noun formation, see GKC §84^c.

8. Reading **שִׁירָן** for MT **שִׁירָן**, with the Targum, Syriac and Greek manuscripts (see BHS).

9. The MT *Hithpolel* הַתְּרִיעָע is not from “to break” (BDB 950) but is a by-form of רָעָה “to be a special friend” (BDB 946). For other examples of the interchange of הָלֵעַ and עָלֵי by-forms see GKC §77^{b,e}. In light of these by-forms, the εταῖρος “friend, companion, comrade” in some Greek manuscripts does not require the emendation of הַתְּרִיעָה to הַתְּרִיעָות, as suggested in BHS.

10. See BDB 945–946; Jastrow 1475–1476; KBS 3: 1258–1262.

11. Pope (1977: 632) noted, “It could scarcely be termed an emendation to follow Syriac and Aquila in dividing *batta*^cānūgīm, ‘with delights’ to *bat* *ta*^cānūgīm, ‘daughter of delight(s).’”

12. Note also Evans (1957: 64–71) who argued that φιλεῖν denoted a higher kind of love.

13. The use of “cherish” rather than “love” is to reflect the *Piel* intensive form and the special quality of the endearing love of רָעָה.

14. The ἀρνίον may have translated צָעִיר, with the Arabic cognate صَغِير (*saḡîr*) suggesting not only small lambs, but people who are held in low esteem, rank or dignity (Lane 1872: 1691–1692). Note Psa 119:141 צָעִיר אָנֹכִי וּנְבִזָּה “I am small and despised.”

If the πρόβατα of manuscripts C* and D reflect the original Greek of 21:15, the *Vorlage* may have had צָאן, with retaining a nuance of its Arabic cognate, ضَأن/ضَائِن (*dâ'in/dâ'n*), which was used as an epithet for “a soft man as though he were a ewe or one who ceases not to be goodly in body while a scanty eater” (Lane 1874:1760). The command to Peter to *feed* the flock may have influenced the tradition behind manuscripts C* and D.

15. The προβάτον here may well be a translation of צָאן.

16. The προβάτιον here may translate טַלְלָה, with the טַלְלָה retaining the nuance of its Arabic cognate طَلِي (*talîy*) meaning not only a

lamb but also “confined, restrained, or withheld” (Lane 1874: 1876). The use of פָּלֵל here may have facilitated the transition to the restraint mentioned in 21:18, “someone else will fasten a belt around you and take you where you do not wish to go.”

17. The Arabic cognate of קַבְּדָה includes the ideas of attachment and devotion, as in the expression أَدْبَقَ لَمْ (mâ’adbaqatu), “How great is his devotedness!” (Lane 1867: 849). The Arabic usage would permit Ἀκολούθει μοι to mean “Stick with me!”

ADDENDUM

Matthew 7:11

The translation of Hebrew רֹעֶה has been problematic in several texts. For example, MT נָמוּ רֹעִים in Nahum 3:18 is rendered in the Septuagint ἐνύσταξαν οἱ ποιμένες σου “your shepherds (= רֹעֶה, stem I) slept,” but the Peshitta has נָמָה מִשְׁתָּחַטְתָּה, נָמָה (*nāmw̄ habraiky*) “your friends (= רֹעֶה, stem II) slept.” In Micah 4:9 the MT רֹעֶה “you shout a shout” (= רֹעֶה) was translated in the Septuagint as ἔγνωσ κακά “you have known evil” (= יְדֻעַ and רֹעֶה, stem I), and the Peshitta has also אֲבָדְתָּי, בִּשְׁתָּאָ (“*ābadty bištā*”) “you committed evil,” but the Targum Jonathan has אֲתָּת מִתְחַבְּרָא אֶל עַמְּמִיא “you made friends (= רֹעֶה, stem II) with the gentiles.” A retroversion of the πονηροί in Matt 7:11 to the original version of the verse.*

The rhetorical questions in Matt 7:9–11 established the point that parents do not give their children something suggestive of death when they asked for the staples of life. The inference is that “family members” (= Hebrew רֹעִים or Aramaic חֲבָרִין) naturally give good gifts to each other. However,

the original saying was misread as רָעִים “evil ones.”

The Aramaic תְּבִרְאָה “family, friends” could not have produced such a misunderstanding, adding support for there being a Hebrew *Vorlage* for this Matthean tradition. Instead of interpreting רָעִים as πονηροί, the early translator should have rendered it as πλησίον, as in Matt 5:43, “you shall love your πλησίον as you love yourself.” At one time Matt 7:11 surely carried the meaning, “If you who are *kinfolk* know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more so will your heavenly father give good things to those who ask!”

If ἄρτον was a translation of לְחֵם “bread” in this tradition, then either אֶבֶן “stone” or רַגְם “stone” could have been used in a wordplay. In light of Lev 24:14 and 16, יְרַגְּמוּ בּוֹ (Septuagint λιθοῖς λιθοβολείτω αὐτὸν) “stone him with stones,” רַגְם is more likely to have been in the original saying. Even though אֶבֶן was used with רַגְם for stoning (Lev 24:23, וַיְרַגְּמוּ אֲתֶךָ אֶבֶן, “and they stoned him with stones”), אֶבֶן could have highly desirable connotations, like building stones, writing stones, and gem stones. But רַגְם always conveyed a sense of death. Jesus’ question seems to have been, “what man of you, if his son ask him for לְחֵם (a staple of life) will give him רַגְם (an instrument of death)?”

Similarity, the contrast between “fish” (ἰχθύς) and “serpent” (ὄφεις) was more than a contrast between what swam in the sea and what crawled on the earth. It was a contrast between an *edible* fish and the *devouring* sea-serpent. In Hebrew תנין was used for the sea-serpent Leviathan (Psa 74:14, 104:26; Job 40:25–41:26 [Eng 41:1–34]). The question was probably, “if the son ask for a fish (דָּג) will the father give him the sea-serpent/Leviathan (לְבִיתָן/תְּנִינָה)?” Although

ὄφις was used for a kind of fish (Liddell and Scott, 1279), the preferred Greek word would have been κῆτος, which renders the נְחַטָּה in Gen 1:21.

* Gelston (1987: 123–125) listed sixty-six passages in the minor prophets where the “the vocalization presupposed by the Peshitta differs from the Masoretic vocalization without affecting the consonantal text.”

XXXIV
“STABBED ALONG THE INLETS OF EGYPT”
PSALMS OF SOLOMON 2:26–27

INTRODUCTION

The sinner contemptuously used his battering-ram
to smash down the strong walls, and you did not interfere.

Foreign nations went up to your altar;
they brazenly trampled around with their sandals on.

For their part, the people of Jerusalem
desecrated the sanctuary of the LORD.

They profaned the gifts of God with their lawless acts.
(PsSol 2:1–2).¹

The contemptuous figure in the first line of these verses has been identified by many as Pompey the Great. With the assistance of Hyrcanus II, Pompey entered Jerusalem in 63 B.C.E., at which time the faction of Aristobulus II retreated to the security of the Temple Mount to resist him. Pompey besieged the Temple Mount for three months, bringing in siege engines from Tyre to facilitate a Roman victory. Josephus provided a detailed account of the Jewish civil war which prompted Pompey to intervene, and in summary noted “. . . of the Jews twelve thousand were slain, but of the Romans very few were slain . . .”² Pompey, by right of conquest, entered the Jerusalem Temple and its Holy of Holies, where, according to Josephus, Pompey saw everything but took nothing. Following this victory, Pompey made Hyrcanus II the high-priest in Jerusalem and ordered the traditional Jewish sacrifices to be resumed.

376 “STABBED ALONG THE INLETS OF EGYPT”

This destruction of the Temple Mount by Pompey, his desecration of the Temple and entering the Holy of Holies, along with the thousands of Jewish casualties, well qualified Pompey for much subsequent Jewish vilification. Just fifteen years after the murder of twelve thousand Jews in Jerusalem, the author of the PsSol 2:26–27 was able to celebrate Pompey’s assassination on September 12, 48 B.C.E., with these words:

And I did not wait long until God showed me his arrogance,
pierced through on the mountains of Egypt,
scorned as worthless as anything on earth and sea.
His body was violently carried on the waves,
and there was no one to bury him,
because God contemptuously despised him.

As is obvious even to the casual reader, the assertion that Pompey was killed on the *mountains* of Egypt and his corpse was carried away on the *waves* appears to be in and of itself inconsistent and in disagreement with other traditions about his assassination.

POMPEY'S DEATH IN CLASSICAL TRADITION

The murder of Pompey by Ptolemy III was recounted in great detail in classical sources. Dio Cassius, in his *Roman History*, provided the following account:

[Pompey] set out for Egypt . . . to Pelusium where Ptolemy was encamped while making war against his sister Cleopatra. Bringing the ships to anchor, he sent some men to remind the prince of the favor shown his father and to ask that he be permitted to land under certain definite

guaranties; for he did not venture to disembark before obtaining some guaranty of safety. Ptolemy gave him no answer for he was still a mere boy, but some of the Egyptians and Lucius Septimus, a Roman who had once served with Pompey . . . and Achillas, the commander-in-chief, and others who were with them . . . embarked on small boats and sailed out to him. After many friendly greetings they begged him to come over to their boats, declaring that by reason of its size and shallow waters a ship could not come close to the land and that Ptolemy was very eager to see him promptly . . . Now when they drew near . . . they killed him before sailing into the harbour . . . Although he had subdued the entire Roman sea, he perished on it; and although he had once been, as the saying is, “master of a thousand ships,” he was destroyed in a tiny boat near Egypt ($\pi\rho\sigma\varsigma\;\tau\epsilon\;\tau\hat{\eta}\;\Lambda\iota\gamma\mu\pi\tau\omega$) . . . near Mount Casius ($\pi\rho\sigma\varsigma\;\tau\epsilon\;\tau\hat{\omega}\;\kappa\alpha\sigma\iota\omega\;\ddot{\sigma}\rho\epsilon\iota$). . . . following a certain oracle, he [Pompey] had been suspicious of all the citizens named Cassius ($\kappa\alpha\sigma\sigma\iota\omega\iota\upsilon$), but instead of being the object of a plot by any man named Cassius he died and was buried beside the mountain ($\ddot{\sigma}\rho\epsilon\iota$) that had this name. . . . and [when Caesar at Alexandria] saw the head and finger-ring of the murdered man, sent him by Ptolemy, . . . he wept and lamented bitterly; . . . and he commanded that the head should be adorned, properly prepared, and buried.³

Plutarch in his *Parallel Lives* provided even greater detail in some respects, reporting as follows:

By this time, the Egyptian boat drew near, and Septimius standing up first, saluted Pompey in the Latin tongue, by the title of imperator. Then Achillas, saluting him in the Greek language, desired him to come aboard his vessel, telling him, that the sea was very shallow towards the

378 “STABBED ALONG THE INLETS OF EGYPT”

shore, and that a galley of that burden could not avoid striking upon the sands. At the same time they saw several of the king's galleys getting their men on board, and all the shore covered with soldiers; so that even if they changed their minds, it seemed impossible for them to escape, and besides, their distrust would have given the assassins a pretense for their cruelty. . . . When they drew near to the shore, Cornelia, together with the rest of his friends in the galley, was very impatient to see the event, and began to take courage at last, when she saw several of the royal escort coming to meet him, apparently to give him a more honorable reception; but in the meantime, as Pompey took Philip by the hand to rise up more easily, Septimius first stabbed him from behind with his sword; and after him likewise Salvius and Achillas drew out their swords. He, therefore, taking up his gown with both hands, drew it over his face, and neither saying nor doing anything unworthy of himself, only groaning a little, endured the wounds they gave him, and so ended his life, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, the very next day after the day of his birth. . . . they cut off Pompey's head, and threw the rest of his body overboard, leaving it naked upon the shore, to be viewed by any that had the curiosity to see so sad a spectacle. Philip stayed by and watched till they had glutted their eyes in viewing it; and then washing it with sea-water, having nothing else, he wrapped it up in a shirt of his own for a winding-sheet. Then seeking up and down about the sands, at last he found some rotten planks of a little fisher-boat, not much, but yet enough to make up a funeral pile for a naked body, and that not quite entire.⁴

Lucan, in a more poetic way, confirms Pompey's murder along the waterways of Egypt in his *Pharsalia* (“The Civil War”), of which the following lines are of particular interest:

. . . Where the treacherous shore
Runs out in sand below the Casian mount
And where the shallow waters of the sea
Attest the Syrtes [= a sandbank in the sea] near, in little boat
Achillas and his partners in the crime
With swords embark. (622–627)
. . . Furling now his sails,
Magnus [= Pompey] with oars approached th' accursed land,
When in their little boat the murderous crew
Drew nigh, and feigning from th' Egyptian court
A ready welcome, blamed the double tides
Broken by shallows, and their scanty beach
Unfit for fleets; and bade him to their craft
Leaving his loftier ship. (654–660)
. . . As Magnus passed,
A Roman soldier from the Pharian boat,
Septimius, salutes him. Gods of heaven!
There stood he, minion to a barbarous king,
Nor bearing still the javelin of Rome;
But vile in all his arms; giant in form
Fierce, brutal, thirsting as a beast may thirst
For carnage. (691–697)
. . . A Roman swordsman, once within thy ranks,
Slave to the orders of a puny prince,
Severed Pompeius' neck . . . (704–706)
. . . Thus did Pompeius die, Guarding his thoughts. (735)
. . . Now beaten by the sands,
Torn upon rocks, the sport of ocean's waves
Poured through its wounds, his headless carcase lies,
Save by the lacerated trunk unknown. (825–829)
. . . Yet ere the victor touched the Pharian sands
Some scanty rites to Magnus Fortune gave,
Lest he should want all burial. Pale with fear
Came Cordus, hasting from his hiding place; (829–832)
. . . He knew the body. In a fast embrace
He holds it, wrestling with the greedy sea,

380 “STABBED ALONG THE INLETS OF EGYPT”

And deftly watching for a refluent wave
Gains help to bring his burden to the land.
Then clinging to the loved remains, the wounds
Washed with his tears, . . . (841–846)
Here upon a meagre stone
We draw the characters to mark thy tomb.
These letters reading may some kindly friend
Bring back thine head, dissevered, and may grant
Full funeral honours to thine earthly frame. (899–903)
. . . Now half consumed, and sinews; and the wave
Pours in upon them, and in shallow trench
Commits them to the earth; and lest some breeze
Might bear away the ashes, or by chance
Some sailor’s anchor might disturb the tomb,
A stone he places, and with stick half burned
Traces the sacred name: HERE MAGNUS LIES.
(917–923)⁵

Dio Cassius, Plutarch, and Lucanus concur that Pompey’s assassination occurred on a small boat in the shallow waters off Pelusium, on the eastern edge of the Egyptian delta. They also agree that the burial of the ashes from Pompey’s decapitated body was along the sea coast near Pelusium⁶ in the direction of Mons Casius⁷ (see the Map of the Delta), a promontory which lies along the northern land barrier separating the Sirbonian Lagoon from the Mediterranean Sea, where, as stated above, “by chance some sailor’s anchor might disturb the tomb.”⁸ This agreement that Pompey was assassinated while changing boats and that his partial burial was at sea level is in obvious disagreement with the PsSol 2:26 as literally translated and traditionally interpreted.

THE GREEK TEXT OF PSSOL 2:26

The Greek text of PsSol 2:26 reads in part ἐκκεκεν-
τημένον ἐπὶ τῶν ὄρέων Αἰγύπτου, “he [Pompey] was
pierced through upon the mountains of Egypt.” The corre-
sponding phrase in the Syriac text reads **תְּמִסְׁבֵּחַ**, “when he [Pompey] was slain upon the
mountains in Egypt” (2:30). The Greek ὄρέων and the Syriac
תְּמִסְׁבֵּחַ mean “mountains,” and either word could have trans-
lated the other or have been a translation of a Hebrew *Vorlage*
having **תְּמִסְׁבֵּחַ**. But ὄρέων and **תְּמִסְׁבֵּחַ** are problematic since
there are no mountains in the Egyptian Delta at Pelusium or
even at Mons Cassius.⁹

The confusion of **נ** and **נ** is so well attested in the Hebrew Bible (see Delitzsch 1920: 109, §106^{a-b}) that a closer look at words composed of **ננ** is warranted. Such words include

- | | |
|---------------|---------------------|
| חָרָא | “dung” |
| חוֹר | “white/white stuff” |
| חוֹרָה | “hollow” |

382 “STABBED ALONG THE INLETS OF EGYPT”

- | | |
|------------|------------------------------------|
| חָרֵךְ | “hole” |
| חָרַדְתִּי | “to burn” |
| חָרַדְתִּי | “to burn” |
| חָרָרְתִּי | “noble, freeman” (stem חָרָרְתִּי) |
| חָרָרְתִּי | “freedman” (Aramaic) |

Five of these words are of no help in the context of Ps Sol 2:26. Given these definitions, Ward’s opting for חָרָרְתִּי “noble, freeman” was reasonable, especially if there is some sarcasm in PsSol 2:26, which is suggested by Plutarch’s description of Ptolemy XIII’s council as being somewhat less than aristocratic. Plutarch stated

Now, Ptolemy was quite young; but Potheinus, who managed all his affairs, assembled a council of the most influential men (and those were most influential whom he wished to be so), and bade each give his opinion. It was certainly a dreadful thing that the fate of Pompey the Great was to be decided by Potheinus the eunuch, and Theodotus of Chios, who was a hired teacher of rhetoric, and Achillas the Egyptian; for these were the chief counselors of the king among the chamberlains and tutors also gathered there . . .¹⁰

At first glance, the third word in the above list, חָוֶל “hollow,” does not fit the context of PsSol 2:26. It is the cognate of Arabic خَوْر (*hawr*) “the depressed ground between hills” (BDB, 301). But Pompey was not assassinated in “the hollows of Egypt” or “the valleys of Egypt.” However, when the Arabic cognate خَوْر (*hawr*) is examined more carefully a contextually perfect option becomes transparent. Castell’s (1669: 1175) citation for Hebrew חָוֶל referenced the Arabic cognate خَارَ (*hâra*) which he defined not only as (1) “depressa, planior *que terra inter duos montes*,” (as noted later in BDB),

but also (2) “Ostium fluminis” [entrance to a river] and “Sinus maris” [the land around a gulf, shore of a bay]. About two hundred years later, Lane (1865: 821a; 1877: 2308) defined خور (*hawr*) as (1) “low, or depressed, ground or land between two elevated parts; like غور (*gawr*) low, or depressed, land, country, or ground,” and (2) “an inlet (lit. a neck) from a sea or a large river, entering into the land, a place, or channel, where water pours into a sea or large river, or a wide place or channel, where waters pour, running into a sea or large river; a canal, or cut, from a sea or large river.” Hava (1915: 188) defined خور (*hawr*) as the “gulf, mouth of a river” and, similarly, Wehr (1979: 306) translated it as “inlet” and “bay.”¹¹

Because the Hebrew נ and נ would appear in Greek transliterations of Hebrew words simply as a smooth or rough breathing mark (see Hatch and Redpath, 1954: *Supplement, passim*) the Greek ὄρέων—minus the genitive plural suffix ων—may actually be the *transliteration* of הַר “inlets” in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of PsSol 2:26—rather than the *translation* of הַר “mountains.” Even the ὄρει of Dio Cassius’ Κασσίω ὄρει could be a *transliteration* of a Semitic place name composed of the קָשֵׁׂׂי¹² and הַר.¹³

A similar *transliteration* of הַר occurs in Num 33:32–33 which lists the names of the Israelite encampments. The MT and Septuagint text read in part

¹⁴ וַיִּחְנֹן בְּחָר הַגִּדְגָּד . . . וַיִּסְעוּ מִחָּר הַגִּדְגָּד

and they encamped at Horhaggidgad

. . . and they set out from Horhaggidgad (RSV)

and they encamped at the *inlet* of the (Wadi) Gidgad

. . . and they set out from the *inlet* of the (Wadi) Gidgad¹⁵

384 “STABBED ALONG THE INLETS OF EGYPT”

καὶ παρεινέβαλον εἰς τὸ ὄρος Γαδγαδ
... καὶ ἀπῆραν ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους Γαδγαδ
and they encamped in the mountain Gadgad
... and they departed from the mountain Gadgad.

The repeated **Γ** was *transliterated* as “ὄρ . . . ὄρ” which, when given case endings became the “ὄρος . . . ὄρους of Gadgad.” The addition of case endings on the Greek transliterations was sufficient here to make a mountain—not out of the proverbial molehill—but out of a waterway.

There is one other significant difference between the Roman recollections about Pompey’s burial (cited above) and the PsSol 2: 27b, which simply states “and there was no one to bury him.” On the other hand, the recollection of Dio Cassius and PsSol 2: 27a are in remarkable agreement. The Jewish psalmist recalled that “his body was violently carried over the waves,” and the Roman poet, in more detail, penned the following:

Now beaten by the sands,
Torn upon rocks, the sport of ocean’s waves
Poured through its wounds, his headless carcase lies,
. . . Now half consumed, and sinews; and the wave
Pours in upon them, and in shallow trench
Commits them to the earth. . . .
(in lines 825–829 and 917–919)

The Jewish poet was probably unaware of Caesar’s command that Pompey’s “head should be adorned, properly prepared, and buried.” and he was also unaware that Cordus (according to Dio Cassius) or Philip (according to Plutarch) affectionately cremated and buried Pompey’s ashes. Similarly, the tradition that Pompey was later interred at Alba was unknown or ignored. The Jewish poet resonated with what

was Ptolemy's assessment of Pompey—he was as dispensable as trash thrown overboard.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Whereas Wright (1998: 97) translated the Greek PsSol 2:27c, “because God contemptuously despised him” (adding “God”), and Trafton (1985:30) translated the Syriac (2:32a), “because they despised {him} in disgrace” (adding “him” and opting for “they” as the subject, contra the Greek singular verb), the Hebrew *Vorlage* probably had a singular passive verb. It was misread as an active, requiring a new subject (“God” or “they”) and an object for the Syriac (“him”). The poetic lines can be translated, “and no one buried him because he was despised and treated-with-contempt” by his Egyptian assassins. For the Jewish poet, the ignominious death and disposal of Pompey was all he needed to prove his point that Pompey received from God what he well deserved.

The Greek ἐκκεκυντημένον ἐπὶ τῶν ὄρέων Αἰγύπτου, in PsSol 2:26 translated a *Vorlage* having just נחר על חרי מצרים “he [Pompey] was stabbed along the inlets of Egypt.” The Greek ὄρέων could reflect (1) either a *transliteration* of the חרי in the Hebrew *Vorlage*, resulting in a homograph of the Greek word for “mountain,” or (2) the חרי “inlets” in the Hebrew *Vorlage* was misread as חרי “mountains.” The Syriac “when he [Pompey] was slain upon the mountains in Egypt,” simply misread the original חרי in its *Vorlage* as חרי, as well as having misread נחר “slain” instead of the original נכחד “stabbed.”¹⁶

NOTES

1. Wright, 1998: 95. Compare Ward's proposal (1996: 23) that the Hebrew *Vorlage* for “the sinner” was העול “the attacker” or “the General,” homographs of עול and חטא, with both meaning

386 “STABBED ALONG THE INLETS OF EGYPT”

“sinner.” The poet’s calling Pompey the “General” would parallel Septimius’ salutation of Pompey as “Imperator” just prior to his assassination (see the quotation from Plutarch, below).

2. *Wars of the Jews*, I: 7. 5 (Naber, V: 30–31; Whiston, I: 30) and *Antiquities of the Jews* XIV: 4. 4 (Naber, III: 235; Whiston, III: 286).

3. See Cary, 1917, section 42: 3–5.

4. See Perrin, 1917: 316–317. Ironically, Ptolemy XIII was himself soon to die in the Nile waters in the Alexandrian War. Achillas marched from Pelusium and surrounded Caesar’s 3,200 legionnaires and 800 cavalry with 20,000 troops. Eventually and with difficulty Caesar prevailed and Ptolemy drowned in the Nile while trying to escape. (*Dio Cassius’ Roman History*, sections 34–43.)

5. See Ridley, 1896. Pompey’s ashes were later collected and sent to his wife, Cornelia, who buried them at Pompey’s villa at Alba. According to Dio Cassius, Caesar “commanded that the head [of Pompey] should be adorned, properly prepared, and buried.”

6. Pelusium (derived from $\tau\eta\lambda\circ\varsigma$ “mud, mire”) was known in Hebrew as גַּת “clay” (BDB 695).

7. The “Mount” of “Mount Cassius” is much like the “Mount” of “Mount Vernon.” It could qualify for being a הַעֲלָה “hill” or a “rise” but hardly a הַר “mountain” and definitely not the plural הַרְרָה , i.e., a plural of intensity which would suggest a large mountain. The Egyptian Cassiotis—which Ptolemy situated at $63^{\circ}30'$ and $31^{\circ}10'$ with Pelusium some distance to its west at $63^{\circ}15'$ and $31^{\circ}10'$ —was unrelated the Mount Casius (Arabic *Jebel el-Aqra'*) which rises 5,660 feet at the mouth of the Orontes River, about twenty-five miles north of Ugarit. Goetze (1940: 32–33), on the basis of place names which appear in Akkadian and Ugaritic, made the following equation and comments with reference to this northern Mons Cassius:

$\bar{a}l \text{ Hal}-bi \text{ HUR.SAG Ha-zi} = hlb \text{ spn}$
Mount Hassi = Mount Cassius = Mount Sapanu.

. . . the name *Casius* derives from our *Ha(-az)zi* which, of course, can be transliterated *Ha(-as)si*. The question as to

the meaning of the Hurrian *hazzi/hassi* cannot be answered as yet, but the equation under discussion seems to indicate that it should be connected in one way or another with the notion expressed by Semitic *sapānu*.

The desiderated Semitic meaning of *Sapanu* is not צַפֵּן “to hide” or צָפֹן “north” but the Arabic cognate صَفْوَانٌ / safwân / *safwân* “clear, pure, choice, select” (Lane 1872: 1704; Wehr 1979: 606), used with reference to Adam and Mohammed, as God’s elect ones, or anything purely or exclusively belonging to God. This word may even occurs in Psa 48:3, with the יְרֻכִּתִי being a plural of intensity:

הַר־צִיּוֹן יְרֻכִּתִי צָפֹן

“Mount Zion, the quintessence of purity”

or

“Mount Zion, (God’s) exquisite choice.”

8. Sirbonis is now called *Sabkhet el Bardowil*. Herodotus III: 5 (Godly 1957: II: 8–9) noted that

... [the seaports] are Syrian again from Ienysus as far as the Serbonis marsh, beside which the Casian promontory stretches seaward; from this Serbonian marsh, where Typho, it is said, was hidden, the country is Egypt. Now between Ienysus and the Casian mountain and the Serbonian marsh there lies a wide territory for as much as three days journey, wondrous waterless.

9. See note 7, above.

10. Perrin 1917: 316–319 [47: 2–3]. In this context it should be noted that Philip, who made a funeral pyre for Pompey of scrap wood, identified himself as a “freedman” ($\alpha\pi\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon\rho\sigma$), which in Hebrew would be a חַרְפָּשׁ or a חַרְבָּה.

11. The *aw* diphthong in the Arabic حُور (*hawr*) would have contracted in Hebrew to ô, resulting in the spelling חָרֵי or חָרֵבִי (*scriptio defectiva*) which could easily have been misread as חָרֵבִי. This cognate is not cited in KBS (299).

388 “STABBED ALONG THE INLETS OF EGYPT”

12. It is of interest to note that **القس** (*al-qassu*) and **قس** (*qassu*) are not linked in Arabic with **جبل** (*jabal*) “mountain” (= הַר), but with **خور** (*hawr*) “gulf, inlet, bay, shore” (= חָרֵב) (see next note). In the Targum the Κασίωτις or Κάσιος was simply transliterated as **גְּסִיוֹתָא**.

13. The חָרֵב is the “gulf, bay, inlets,” discussed above, and the **קָסִיָּה** (= Κασσίω) would be the Hebrew equivalent of **قسی** (*qassiy*), which, according to Lane (1885: 2521), was “a kind of cloth or garment brought from Egypt” which was “so called from a district, or place, or town or village, upon the shore of the sea called **القس** (*al-qassu*) or **قس** (*qassu*), between El-Areesh and El-Faramà in Egypt.”

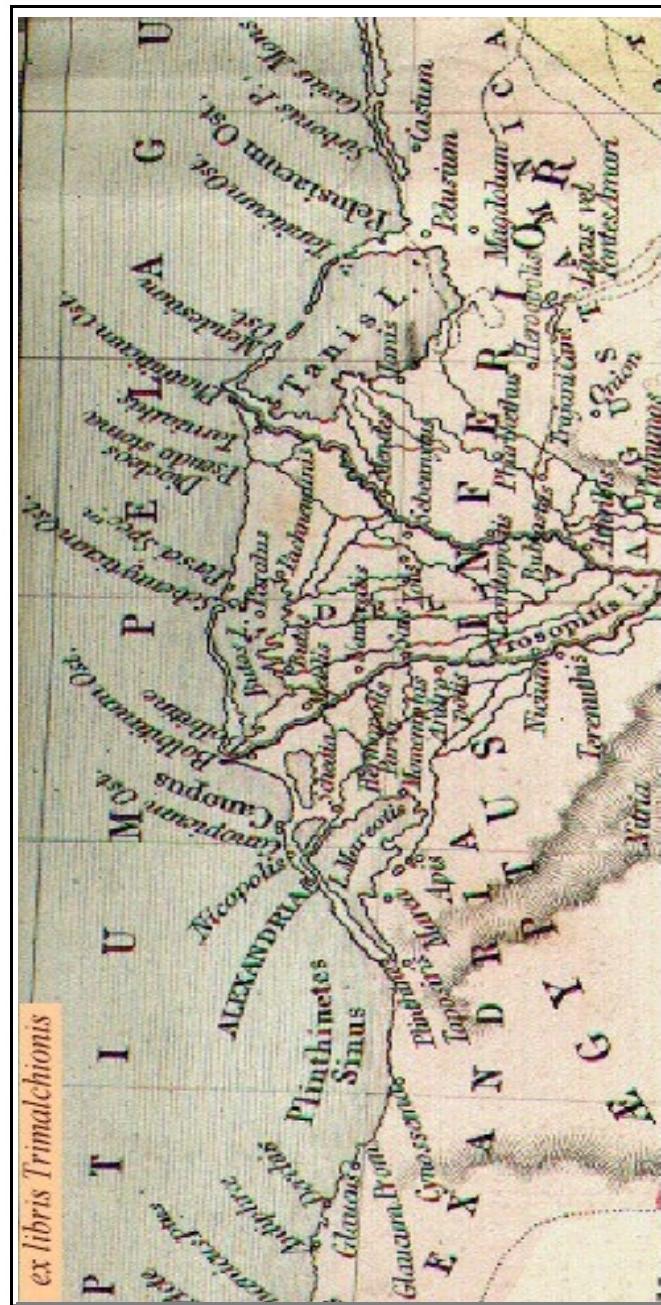
The *translation of a transliteration* is well attested, as in Judges 5:21, where the MT חָלָמֶן was transliterated as ομαλιει in MSS Mnamyb₂ο and the Lucianic MSS dgknptvw—with an inversion of the two חָלָמֶן to חָלָמוֹ in the *Vorlage* of these manuscripts—and as αμα λαω in MSS k and k*. The Armenian text (= Latin *planabunt* “they will level”) has a *translation of the transliteration*, as though ομαλιει were from ὁμαλίζω “to make level.”

14. This word is the cognate of Arabic **جَدْجَد** (*jadjad*) “hard level ground” and **جَدَد** (*jadd*) “hard level ground . . . containing no soft place in which the feet sink, nor any mountain nor any [hill such as is called صحراء (*sahhrā*) (= “Sahara”)], as well as جَدَّه (*judd*) “water little in quantity : water at the extremity of a desert” and جَدَّة (*juddat*) “a bank or side of a river/wadi” (Lane 1865: 385–387). These cognates, coupled with a reference to אֶרֶץ נְחָלֵי מִים in the parallel passage in Deu 10:7, mitigate against emending חָרֵב to רַב to accomodate the ὄρος . . . ὄρους in the Septuagint.

15. The Wadi Giddade, near the Gulf of Aqaba, and the Wadi Ghadhaghedh have been identified with this site, but Binns (1927: 211, note 32) correctly concluded that Ghadhaghedh is improbable on etymological grounds.

16. See Lane, 1893:2774 and BDB, 637–638, noting carefully the Arabic cognates **نَحْر** (*nahara*) “to snort” and **نَحْرَ** (*nahara*) “to stab.” Ward concluded that “it is more likely that **נִכְרָה** was original and that the **נ** was missed by the Syriac rather than assuming that the Greek added it.” But **נִחַר** “to stab” is much more widely attested than is **כִּרְחָה** “to pierce,” which generally means “to bore, to dig.” Jastrow (1903: 666, 896) included “pierced” in his notes on **כִּרְחָה**, but it was a reference to the stem **כִּרְחָה** “perforate” in Ezek 23:47, **וְבָרָא אֹתָהָן בְּחַרְבּוֹתָם**, which appears in the Septuagint as *καὶ κατακέντει αὐτὰς ἐν τοῖς ξίφεσιν αὐτῶν*, “and he stabbed them with their swords.” Jastrow defined **נִחַר** as “to perforate, especially to kill by stabbing” and suggested that this verb is a secondary root of **חִוָּר** and **חִרָּר**.

390 "STABBED ALONG THE INLETS OF EGYPT"



MAP OF THE EGYPTIAN DELTA

XXXV

ARABIC COGNATES WHICH CLARIFY THE MEANING OF “HASMONEAN,” “THE SEEKERS OF FLATTERY” AND “THRACIDA”

I. HASMONEAN

The name of the Hasmoneans, חֶשְׁמֹונָאִי / Ἀσαμωναῖος,¹ who were prominent in Judah from 165–37 B.C.E and ruled Judah from 142–63 B.C.E., is unrelated to the הַשְׁמֻעוֹנִי (Greek Συμεων) in Num 26:14 and Jos 21:4. The proper name חֶשְׁמֹן appears in Ezr 2:19, 10:33; Neh 7:22, 8:4, and 10:19. The Septuagint renders this name as Ασεμ or Ησεμ or Ωσεμ. In the Hebrew text of Jos 15:27 the Judean town of חֶשְׁמֹן is mentioned (with no corresponding name in the Septuagint),² and a wilderness encampment named חֶשְׁמֹונָה (with the Septuagintal variants Σελμωνα [B-text] and Ασελμωνα [A-text]) appears in Num 33:29.³

The ambiguous מְנִין חֶשְׁמֹנִים מְנִין מֵצְרִים of Psa 68:31 (MT 68:32), rendered “Princes shall come out of Egypt” in the KJV and “let bronze be brought from Egypt” in the RSV, provides one clue for the derivation of “Hasmonean.” The Arabic cognate *حاشِم* (*hašîm*) can mean one who is “regarded with reverence, veneration, respect, honour, awe, or fear” (Lane 1865: 577). This cognate explains the Septuagint’s translation of this phrase as πρέσβεις ἐξ Αἰγύπτου “elders / ambassadors/venerable men from Egypt.”⁴ In the language of Psa 68:32 (MT), the Hasmoneans (חֶשְׁמֹונָאִים) would have been the חֶשְׁמֹנִים מְנִין יְהוָה “the men from Judah held in high esteem” or “the men from Judah regarded with fear.”⁵

The second clue for the derivation of חֶשְׁמֹןָה, חֶשְׁמֹנָא, and חֶשְׁמֹנָא is found in 1 Macc 3:4, where Judas Maccabeus was said to have been “like a lion in his deeds, like a lion’s cub roaring for prey.”⁶ This reference to a roaring lion suggests that the מִשְׁמָרָה of חֶשְׁמֹןָה, חֶשְׁמֹנָא, and חֶשְׁמֹנָא is the cognate of Arabic خَشَّام (*ḥušām*) “lion” (Lane 1865: 744), so called because of the greatness of the lion’s nose. (The Arabic for a large nose is حَشَّام [*hašām*], a flat nose is خَسْم [*hašīm*] and an ordinary nose is خَطْم [*hitam*] or لَفَنْ [*anf*] (= אַנְפָס > אַנְפָס).⁷

The third clue for the meaning of the stem מִשְׁמָר is the Arabic cognate حَشَّمَة/حَشْم (*hašima / hišmat*) “he became angry/anger” (Lane 1865: 576–577). The anger of the Hasmoneans is well noted in I Macc 2: 24–27 and 2: 49.

When Mattathias saw it, he burned with zeal and his heart was stirred. He gave vent to righteous anger; he ran and killed him upon the altar. At the same time he killed the king’s officer who was forcing them to sacrifice, and he tore down the altar. Thus he burned with zeal for the law, as Phinehas did against Zimri the son of Salu. Then Mattathias cried out in the city with a loud voice, saying: “Let every one who is zealous for the law and supports the covenant come out with me!” . . . Now the days drew near for Mattathias to die, and he said to his sons: “Arrogance and reproach have now become strong; it is a time of ruin and furious anger.”

In light of the cognates cited above, 1 Macc 3:4, coupled with 1 Macc 2:24–49, suggests several layers of meaning for the name חֶשְׁמֹנָא, including “lions” and “angry (men).” The Hasmoneans as *angry* (מִשְׁמָר) *lions* (מִשְׁמָר) were *feared* (מִשְׁמָר) by their enemies and *held in awe* (מִשְׁמָר) by their followers.

II. “THE SEEKERS OF FLATTERY”

Support for the derivations meaning “lion” and “angry” comes from 4Q169 (4Qp Nahum), where—with reference to Nahum 2:12, “he fills his cave with prey and his den with game”—the interpretation was given that

this refers to the Lion of Wrath (כָּפֵר הַחֲרֹן) . . . vengeance upon the Flattery Seekers (בְּדָרְשֵׁי חֶלְקָות), because he used to hang men alive, as it was done in Israel in former times . . .⁸

Although Doudna (1999) identified the “Lion of Wrath” here in 4Q169 with Pompey (who killed 12,000 Jews in his seige against Jerusalem),⁹ most scholars have identified him as Alexander Jannaeus, the Hasmonean who ruled 103–78 B.C.E.¹⁰

The translation of חֶלְקָות in 4Q169 by “flattery” or “easy interpretations,” as if it were from חֶלֶק “to be smooth” (BDB 325; KBS 322), is very misleading.¹¹ According to Josephus (*Antiquities* XIII: 13: 376),¹²

He [Alexander Jannaeus] fought against them [his own people who were seditious against him] for six years, and slew no fewer than fifty thousand of them, and when he desired that they would desist from their ill will to him, they hated him so much the more, on account of what had already happened; and when he asked them what he ought to do, they all cried out that he ought to kill himself.

The outcry for Alexander to commit suicide could hardly qualify as “flattery” or “easy interpretations.” It was after this outcry for his death that Alexander’s forces of 20,000 Jews and 6,200 Greek mercenaries were defeated by Demetrius Eucerus’ 3,000 horsemen and 40,000 footmen which included

some 6,000 Jews. However, once Demetrius return to Greece, Alexander Jannaeus successfully defeated those Jews who had fought with Demetrius, culminating in Alexander’s crucifixion of 800 Jewish fighters while still alive after the murder of their wives and children before their eyes,¹³ which earned him the enigmatic name Θρακίδαν (discussed below).

Flattery may have been used by Demetrius when he attempted out of ethnic loyalty to get Alexander’s Greek mercenaries to defect to his side; and Alexander, likewise, may have used flattery in his attempt to get Demetrius’ Jewish fighters to defect to his side. But there is no hint that “smooth talk” led to Alexander’s mass crucifixions and the slit throats of the wives and children of the crucified men.

The **הַחֲלִקּוֹת** in 4Q169 is better read as the cognate of the Arabic epithet **حَالَقَة** (*hâliqat*) rather than being the cognate of **خَلْق** (*halqa*) with any of its varied meanings cited in standard Hebrew lexicons.¹⁴ The epithet **الحَالَقَة** (*alhâliqat*), meant

The cutting, or abandoning, or forsaking, of kindred, or relations; syn[onym of] قطعية الرحم (*qaṭī'atū ḥarrāḥim*) [‘the forsaking, abandoning of kindred or relations’] . . . and mutual wrong doing, and evil speaking . . . or that which destroys, and utterly cuts off, religion; like as a razor utterly cuts of hair.¹⁵

Lane noted also “the tradition in which **البغضاء** (*lbağ dâ'*) [i.e. vehement hatred] and **الحالة** (*alhâliqat*) are termed the diseases of the nations.”

The allegations of the Pharisees that Alexander, like his father Hyrcanus, was born of a captive woman, along with the outcry for his death, are good examples of “evil speaking,” but are hardly examples of “flattery.” The abolition of the

Pharasaic decrees by Hyrcanus was his attempt to *cut off the religion* (= حلاقة [ḥâliqat] = חלְקָה) of the Pharisees, which, according to Josephus, led to “that hatred which he and his sons met with from the multitudes.”¹⁶

When the **החלקוֹת** in 4Q169 is read as the cognate of (*ḥâliqat*), the meaning of which includes the “cutting, or forsaking, or abandoning, of kindred, or relations,” it becomes obvious that **חֲלֵק** can be a synonym of **פְּרַשׁ** “to divide, to separate, to secede.” The **חֲלֻקּוֹת** may not be a plural noun but an abstract, the equivalent of **פְּרִשּׁוֹת** “secession, separation” (Jastrow 1222, 1244). The **דָוֶרֶשִׁי** **הַחֲלֻקּוֹת** of 4Q169 would then mean “the ones seeking secession” or simply “the secessionists.” The compound **דָוֶרֶשִׁי** **הַחֲלֻקּוֹת**, then, is synonymous with **פְּרוֹשִׁים** the “Separatists,” i.e., the Pharisees.

4Q169, col. I: 5ff. can be translated, “This concerns the furious lion [who executes revenge] on the secessionists and hangs men alive.” Similarly, col. II: 11b can be translated, “Demetrius, King of Greece, who sought the counsel of the secessionists to enter Jerusalem” The latter phrase corresponds quite closely to Josephus’ statement, “They [the secessionists in Jerusalem] also sent to Demetrius Eucerus, and desired to make a league of mutual defense with them.”¹⁷

III. THRACIDA

The unusual nature of the name Θρακίδαι led Whiston (1741: III, 266) to comment, “This name Thracida, which the Jews gave Alexander, must, by the coherence, denote *as barbarous as a Thracian*, or somewhat like it; but what it properly signifies is not known.”

This unknown becomes intelligible when Θρᾳκίδαν is disassociated from the place name Θρᾳκη/Thrace and is recognized as a transliteration from a Hebrew source used by Josephus which contained a name composed of (1) חָרֵךׁ “to drive out, to divorce, to banish” (Jastrow, 1699) and (2) עָדִי / עָדֹי the cognate of Arabic عَدِي / عَدْي (‘adūw / ‘iday) “enemy, foe, hostile party” (Lane, 18:74: 1980). Josephus followed Θρᾳκίδαν with a definition of sorts, stating, “whereupon the soldiers that had fought against him, being about eight thousand in number, ran away by night and continued fugitives all the time that Alexander lived.”¹⁸ The interpretation of Θρᾳκίδαν as the “Banisher-of-the-Enemy” is particularly attractive since the cognate (‘adūw = عَدْي) is the antonym of صَدِيقٌ (ṣadiq = צָדִיק) “true, sincere friend,” with all the rich associations of this stem with the Zadokites and the Sadducees who were especially friendly with the Hasmoneans.

Given the fact that Alexander had overcome the Arabians, at least for a while (Josephus, *Antiquities* XIII: 13: 374–376), it should not be surprising to learn that the Arabians not only paid Alexander tribute, but they may also have contributed the cognates in his title of Θρᾳκίδαν, “Banisher-of-the-Enemy.”

It was not only the barbarity of his live crucifixions and slit throats which earned him this title. It was the terror created by his barbarity which eventually caused his adversaries to abandon their struggle and flee as fugitives beyond his reach. The “Banisher-of-the-Enemy” by terror vanquish his foes. As the “Lion of Wrath” who succeeded against the secessionists, Alexander Jannaeus exemplified well the multiple meanings of “Hasmonean.” He was an *angry lion* who instilled *fear* in many and inspired *awe* in some.

NOTES

1. See Jastrow, 511. Note Josephus, *Antiquities*, 12: 265–266, (Taber 1892: II, 111–112; Whiston 1964: III, 184) “Now at this time there was one whose name was Mattathias, who dwelt at Modin, the son of John, the son of Simeon, the son of Asamoneus (Ἀσαμωναῖος), a priest of the order of Joarib, and a citizen of Jerusalem. He [Mattathias] had five sons; John, who was called Gaddis, and Simon, who was called Matthes, and Judas, who was called Maccabeus and Eleazar, who was called Auran, and Jonathan, who was called Apphus.” (Note also 14: 490; 16: 187; 20: 189, 238.) The name Gaddis (Γαδδῆς) may reflect the Hebrew גָּדֵד, the cognate of Arabic جَادِ (jad) “greatness, majesty, good fortune” (Lane 1865: 384–385; BDB 151). The name Ἀπφοῦς is probably the same name as the ἄρη cited by Jastrow (99) as the allegorical name of the angel administering justice, which may be the cognate of Arabic أنف [anf] “nose,” which can also mean “lord or chief” (Lane 1863: 116).
2. The form of this name is analogous to the name Aaron (אַהֲרֹן / אַהֲרֹן). For the אִ- and אֶ- afformatives on the names, see GKC 85^u and 86^{h-i}.
3. Loewenstein (1958:315), after citing Noth’s reference (1928: 227) to the Arabic خطم (*hiṭam*) “nose, noseband, a halter for an animal,” concluded that “משמעתו של השם לא הבהירה ‘the meaning of the name is not clear.’” (I thank Mr. Gevaryahu for this reference.) Lane’s definitions (1865: 767–768) include (1) خطم (*hiṭam*) “a thing, an affair, or business of magnitude,” (2) خطم (*hiṭim*) “leader, conductor, manager” and (3) “nose, noseband.”
4. Liddell and Scott (1966: 1462) noted that πρέσβεις “elder, chief, prince, ambassador” was a term of respect and veneration.

Compare Dahood (1968: 32), who considered חַשְׁמָן here to be the cognate of Akkadian *hašmā nu(m)* “blue cloth.”

5. Simon (1793: 627) identified חַשְׁמָן “*magnas, optimas*” with the Arabic cognate حاشيم / حاشم (*hâšim/hâšîm*) “*magnus magnique famulitii vir.*” Ewald (1870: 520), cited by Tregelles (1875: 313) had identified חַשְׁמָן with the Arabic خشم (*hašam*) “*the nose* which may be applied to a *prince.*” (Lane 1863: 116 cited [‘anf] “nose,” which can also mean “lord or chief.”)

6. The Greek text reads, Καὶ ὡμοιώθη λέοντι ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ καὶ ὡς σκύμνος ἐρευγόμενος εἰς θήραν. Note the title ὁ λέων ὁ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Ιουδα, “the lion from the tribe of Judah” in Rev 5:5. The personal names חַשְׁמָן or חַשְׁמָן would be analogous to the הַרִּיָּה “Lion” in II Kings 15:26, as well as the Arabic لَسَّامَة (‘usâma) (Simon 1793: 188; Lane 1863: 59–60).

7. In Persian خشام (*hašâm*) signified *anger*, about which Lane (1865: 744) commented, “this meaning is with probability deducible from the literal root of this art.; for he who is angry raises his nose and makes it pointed.” The association of “nose” and “anger” is very widely attested with נֶס “nostril, nose, anger” and the denominative verb נִשְׁאַנֵּ “to be angry.” The Arabic خشم (*hâšim*) “flat nose” is cited by Hava (1915: 157), who also noted خشم (*hat̄am*) “lion,” which is probably related (see GKC 85^w for examples of stems extended by the addition of an ע). KBS (I: 362) cited Arabic *hâšim* “flat nose” and *hâšam* “big nose,” but made no mention of *hašâm* “big nose” or *husâm* “lion.” The ש / ث (*t/s*) variants in the Arabic cognate explain the Hebrew חַשְׁמָןָא (with a ש), rather than חַשְׁמָנוֹנָא (with an anticipated ש). The place names in כְּפִירָה חַשְׁמָנוֹנָה and חַשְׁמָנוֹן would be analogous to the name

Jos 9:17, 18:26, Ezra 2:25, and Neh 7:29, which, in light of כַּפִּיר “lion” and כְּפָר “village,” could have a double meaning and be the equivalent of Leoville or Lionville.

8. See Allegro, 1968: 38–39, Column I, lines 5–8; and Vermes, 1995: 336–340. For a summary of the scholarly discussions on *Pesher Nahum*, see Berrin, 2000: 653–655.

9. , I: 7. 5 (Naber, V: 30–31; Whiston, I: 30) and *Antiquities of the Jews* XIV: 4. 4 (Naber, III: 235; Whiston, III: 286).

10. See Turner 1962: 528–535. Note especially Josephus, *Antiquities* XIII: 14: 381, “This was indeed by way of revenge for the injuries they had done him; which punishment yet was of an inhuman nature.”

11. See Martínez and Tigchelaar (2000: 334–377) and Rabinowitz (1978: 397), where he suggested: “the ‘Resorters-to-Flatteries,’ those imitators of the way-of-life of the Greeks of the Selucid Empire, are clearly the Hellenizers of whom we read in the Book of Maccabees.”

12. See Whiston 1974: III, 265; Naber 1892: II, 211.

13. Josephus, *Antiquities* XIII: 14: 379–383 reads as follows:

Now as Alexander fled to the mountains, six thousand of the Jews hereupon came together [from Demetrius] to him out of pity at the change of his fortune; upon which Demetrius was afraid, and retired out of the country; after which the Jews fought against Alexander, and being beaten, were slain in great numbers in the several battles which they had; and when he had shut up the most powerful of them in the city Bethome, he besieged them therein; and when he had taken the city, and gotten the men into his power, he brought them to Jerusalem, and did

one of the most barbarous actions in the world to them; for as he was feasting with his concubines, in the sight of all the city, he ordered about eight hundred of them to be crucified; and while they were living, he ordered the throats of their children and wives to be cut before their eyes. This was indeed by way of revenge for the injuries they had done him; which punishment yet was of an inhuman nature, though we suppose that he had been never so much distressed, as indeed he had been, by his wars with them, for he had by their means come to the last degree of hazard, both of his life and of his kingdom, while they were not satisfied by themselves only to fight against him, but introduced foreigners also for the same purpose; nay, at length they reduced him to that degree of necessity, that he was forced to deliver back to the king of Arabia the land of Moab and Gilead, which he had subdued, and the places that were in them, that they might not join with them in the war against him, as they had done ten thousand other things that tended to affront and reproach him. However, this barbarity seems to have been without any necessity, on which account he bare the name of a Thracian ($\Thetaρακίδαν$) among the Jews whereupon the soldiers that had fought against him, being about eight thousand in number, ran away by night, and continued fugitives all the time that Alexander lived; who being now freed from any further disturbance from them, reigned the rest of his time in the utmost tranquillity.

14. Lane’s definitions (1865: 799–802) of خلق (*halaqa*) included “he measured, he brought into existence, it was smooth, she was goodly in make” and the nouns “perfect/complete” and “all created things.” KBS (322–324) noted خلق (*halaqa*) “to make smooth, to measure off” and حلق (*halaqa*) “to shave,” but made no reference to the epithet حالقة (*hâliqat*), cited in this study.

15. See Lane 1863: 231; 1865: 630; 1867: 1056; and 1874: 2090. In light of the Arabic حالقة (*ḥâliqat*) and جادل (*jâdal*) “he contended in an altercation, or disputed, or litigated, by advancing what might divert the mind from the appearance of truth and of what was right”(Lane 1865: 392), the חַלְקֹות and נָדְלוֹת in Psa 12:4 (נִכְרָת יְהוָה כָּל־שְׁפֵתִי חַלְקֹות לְשׁוֹן מִדְבָּרֶת נָדְלוֹת) need to be revocalized as abstract nouns rather than as feminine plurals, and translated idiomatically as “may Yahweh cut off all lips of *spuriousness* (and every) tongue speaking *acrimoniously*.”

16. *Antiquities* XIII: 10: 296.

17. *Antiquities* XIII: 13: 376.

18. See Whiston 1974: III, 266–267; Naber 1892: II, 212–213. Note also Hatch and Redpath 1954: Supplement 69–73, where many examples are cited of the Hebrew תַּ having been transliterated by a θ instead of the τ.

XXXVI

SUMMARY

The following list of eighty-four phrases from fifty-five verses summarizes the translations I proposed in the chapters above. Scriptural references in italics indicate that Arabic cognates were cited to support the italicized translations. The nine words/phrases requiring an emendation of the consonantal Hebrew text are marked with an asterisk at the end of the translated line and are summarized in a subsequent paragraph.

- Gen 3:14* “עַפְרֹת אֲכָל” “small creatures shall you eat”
Gen 3:16 יִמְשֶׁל בָּהּ “(your husband) will be like you”
Gen 16:10 הוּא יְדִיעָה פָּרָא אָדָם “he shall be a *peacemaker, a reconciler*”
Gen 16:12 עַל־פָנֵי כָל־אֶחָיו יִשְׁכַּן “in the *favor* of all his brothers he will dwell (*tranquilly*)”
Gen 25:18 עַל־פָנֵי כָל־אֶחָיו נִפְלָא “he *embraced* all his brethren”
Exo 4:24 וַיַּפְגַּשׁ הָיָה יְהוָה וַיְבַקֵּשׁ הַמִּיחָוֶד “Yahweh met him and sought to *bond the relationship*”
Exo 4:26 וַיַּרְא . . . חָתֵן דְמִים לְמֻולָת “they became bonded . . . ‘You are a *blood relative* by circumcision’”
Lev 16: 10 לְשַׁלֵּח אֹתוֹ לְעִזָּזָל הַמִּדְבָּרָה “to send it to a *harsh rugged place*, into the wilderness”
Lev 16:21 שְׁלַח בְּיַד־אִישׁ עַתִּי הַמִּדְבָּרָה “to send (it) by the hand of an *extremely corrupt* man into the wilderness”

- Num 12:3* “הָאִישׁ מֹשֶׁה” Moses was brought to despair”
- Num 33:32* “וַיִּחְנֹן בְּחָרֶת הַגִּדְגָּד” they encamped at the inlet of the (Wadi) Gidgad”
- Deu 15:11* “לֹא־יִחְדַּל אֲבִיוֹן” “the poor must not be treated unjustly”
- Deu 15:11* “לֹא־יִחְדַּל אֲבִיוֹן” “the poor must not be denied assistance”
- Jos 2:1* “וַיִּבְאֹא בֵּית־אִשָּׂה זֹנוֹה” “they entered the house of a woman innkeeper”
- Jos 10:13* “שֶׁמֶשׁ בְּגִבְעֹן דָּוָם” “Sun, be dark in Gibeon!”
- Jos 10:13* “וַיַּדַּם הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ וַיַּרְחַק עַמְּדָה” “the sun became darkened and the moon stayed concealed”
- Jos 10:13* “וַיַּעֲמֹד הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ בְּחָצֵי הַשְׁמִינִים “the sun concealed itself while in the middle of the sky”
- Jos 10:13* “לֹא אָז לְבוֹא כִּיּוֹם תְּמִימִים” “it actually hastened to set as though it were a whole day”
- II Kings 22:14* “שָׁמְרָה בְּנָדִים” “the (woman who was) guarding the truths / traditions”
- II Chron 34:22* “שָׁמְרָה בְּנָדִים” “the (woman who was) guarding the truths / traditions”
- II Chron 34:22* “הִיא יוֹשֶׁבֶת בִּירוּשָׁלָם בְּמִשְׁנָה” “she was dwelling in Jerusalem in her old age”
- II Chron 28:5* “מֵאָה וּשְׁנִים אֶלָּף” “one hundred twenty contingents”
- II Chron 28:15* “הָאֲנָשִׁים אֲשֶׁר־נִקְבּוּ בְּשָׁמוֹת” “the men who were designated by badges to be in charge”
- Psa 2:11* “גִּילו בְּרַעְתָּה” “adore [God] with unrestraint”

- Psa 2:12* נְשָׁקֹן בָּר “worship with fidelity”
- Psa 48:3* הַר־צִוָּן יְרֵכִי צָפֹן “Mount Zion, the quintessence of purity”
- Pro 30:1* דָּבָרִי אֲנוֹר “the words of one-rewarded-for-righteousness”
- Pro 30:1* בָּנִיקָה “a pious person”
- Pro 30:1* הַמְשָׁא נָאָם “the one authoring the saying”
- Pro 30:1* הַגּוֹבֵר “the one-restored-to-sound-estate”
- Pro 30:1* לְאִיתִי אֵל “surely there is a God”
- Pro 30:1* אַכְלָל “I will be kept safe”
- Pro 30:2* כִּי בָּעַר אַנְכִּי מַאיִשׁ “for I was consumed from despair”
- Pro 30:4* מָה שָׁמוֹ שָׁמוֹ “How exalted his name!”*
- Pro 30:4* מָה שֵׁם בֵּינוֹ “How sublime his intelligence!”*
- Pro 30:5* כִּי תִּדְעַ כָּל־אָמְרָת אֱלֹהֶה צְרוֹפָה “Certainly you know every saying of God has stood the test!”
- Ecc 7:26* מִרְמָה אַתְּ־אָשָׁה אֲשֶׁרֶת “. . . more bitter than death is a self-conceited woman”*
- Ecc 7:26* הִיא מִצְׂדִּים וְחַרְמִים לְבָה “she is a (sure) snare and her heart is a (really tight) net”
- Ecc 7:28* מִצְׁאָתִי אָדָם אֶחָד מֵאֶלֶף מֵאֶלֶף “I found a single friendly man out of a thousand”*
- SSol 1:3* לְרִיחַ שְׁמַנִּיךְ טֻבִּים “truly, the scent of your perfume is delightful!”
- SSol 1:3* שְׁמַן תּוֹרֵק שְׁמַךְ “precious, your scent was made to induce pleasure”

- SSol 1:4* מישרים אהבוך “they loved you more than great luxuries”
- Isa 65:25* נחש עפר לחרמו “the serpent (will have) vegetation for his food”
- Jer 5:8* סוסים מזונים משכימים הי “they were stallions on the verge of discharging semen”
- Jer 31:21* שובי בחולת ישראל שב אל-עריך אלה “Return, O Virtuous Israel, return to your negligent city.”
- Jer 31:21* עד-מתי תחמקין הבת השובבה “How long will you remain stupid, O faithless daughter?”
- Jer 31:22* נקבה חסבב גבר “the female enamors the male”
- Jer 55:53* וכי תבצר מרום עזה “though she make inaccessible the top of her tel”
- Ezek 3:14* אלך מר בחמת רוח “I went off flying in circles of wind”*
- Ezek 13:18* הוי למחפרות כסתות על כל-אצלי ידי “Woe to the ones tying bandages on every maimed limb”
- Ezek 13:18* עשות המספחות על-כל-ראש צודך “placing compresses upon every oozing head”
- Ezek 13:18* תצודדנה לעמי “they shun my very own people”
- Ezek 13:18* נפשות לבנה תחיהינה “[still] breathing, they restore to life”
- Ezek 13:19* לחיות נפשות אשר לא-תחיהינה “to keep alive those breathing who ought not to be alive”

- Ezek 13:19* “לְהַמֵּת נֶפֶשׁ אֲשֶׁר לֹא-תִּמְوتָנָה “to let die those breathing who ought not to have died”
- Ezek 13:19* **אֲתִי אֶל-עַמִּי תַּחֲלַלְנָה** “they have undermined my warning to my people”
- Ezek 13:19* **אֲתִי הַנֶּפֶשׁ אֲשֶׁר אָתָּה מִצְדְּרוֹת** “The ones breathing whom you shunned”
- Ezek 13:20* **הִנֵּנִי אֶל-כִּסְתוֹתֵיכְנָה** “behold, I am against your bandages”
- Ezek 13:20* **שֶׁם לְפָרָחוֹת** “(I) designate(to be) the ones-set-free”
- Ezek 13:30* **וַיַּשְׁלַחְתִּי לְפָרָחָת** “I will let go to (become) the ones-set-free”
- Ezek 28:12* **אַתָּה חُותֵם תְּבוֹנָה** “you were the signet of eruption”*
- Ezek 28:12* **כָּלִיל יִפְיָה** “crowned with beauty”
- Ezek 28:13* **זָהָב כְּתָת** “(your canopy was of) gold leaf”*
- Ezek 28:13* **וַנְקַבֵּץ בָּם מְלָא פָּוֹךְ** “your settings for them were filled with antimony”*
- Ezek 28:13* **בַּיּוֹם הַבָּרָאֵךְ** “for the day you were perfected”
- Ezek 28:14* **I כָּרְבֵּה סֻכּוֹן מְשִׁיחִים נִתְּחִיךְ** “I set you as the chief statesman of the anointed”*
- Ezek 28:23* **בְּעֵדָן גָּדוֹלָהִים הַיִתִּי** “I was in Eden, the garden of God”
- Ezek 28:14* **הַיִתִּי בְּהַר קֶדֶשׁ אֱלֹהִים** “I was on the holy mountain of God”
- Joel 2:31* **הַשְׁמֵשׁ וְהַמַּךְ לְחַשֵּׁךְ וְהַירְחַ לְדָם** “the sun will be turned to darkness and the moon to blackness”

- Amos 7:14* בָּוקֵר אָנֹכִי וּבּוֹלֵס שְׁקָמִים “I am an *inquirer* and an *investigator* of whatever happens”
- Zech 5:6* זֹאת הַאֲיָה הַיּוֹצֵאת “this is the *mobile shrine*”
- Zech 5:7* הָגִיה כְּפֶר עַפְרָת נִשְׁאָת “lo, the *circular cover/circular roof* was lifted”
- Zech 5:7* זֹאת אֲשֶׁר יֹשֶׁבֶת בְּתוֹךְ הַאֲיָה “this is ‘the first lady’ (=goddess) sitting in the center of the *shrine*”
- Matt 2:9* ὁ ἀστήρ . . . ἐστάθη = **הַכָּבָב . . . עַמֶּד** = “*the star set*”
- Matt 7:6* μὴ δῶτε τὸ ἄγιον τοῖς κυσὶν = **אַל תְּהִנוּ הַטְהוֹר** = **לְכָלְבִים** = “Do not give *the holy (word)* to the *dog keepers*”
- Matt 7:6* μηδὲ βάλητε τοὺς μαργαρίτας ὑμῶν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν χοίρων = **וְאַל תֹּרוּ תּוֹרָתְכֶם לְפָנֵי הַחֹזְרִים** = “and do not *teach your torah in the presence of swine-herders*”
- Matt 7:6* μήποτε καταπατήσουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτῶν = **פָּנִ מְטָרִיפִים אֹתָה בְּרִגְלֵיהֶם** = “lest, *blaspheming it with their slander*”
- Matt 7:6* καὶ στραφέντες ῥήξωσιν ὑμᾶς = **וְחוֹזְרִים יִקְרֻעְוּ** = “and *disavowing (it), they malign you*”
- Matt 7:11* εἰ οὖν ὑμεῖς πονηροὶ = **אִם אַתֶּם רְעִים** = “if you being *kinfolk*”
- Matt 8:22* ἄφες τοὺς νεκροὺς θάψαι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νεκρούς = **עַזֹּוב הַמְתִים לְקִבּוֹר מִתְּהִימָּם** = “let the *next of kin* bury their dead”
- Matt 10:34* μὴ νομίσητε ὅτι ἡλθον βαλεῖν εἰρήνην ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν = **אַל תַּחֲשִׁבוּ שָׁבָאַתִּי שָׁלֵם בָּאָרֶץ אֶלָּא**

חַלְפָה = “do not think that I have come to bring the *end/retribution* on the earth, but a *change*”

Luke 14:26 καὶ οὐ μισεῖ τὸν πατέρα ἑαυτοῦ = **אִם יִבְאַת אֶלְي֙ אִישׁ וְלֹא יִשְׁנָא אֹתְךָ אָבִיךָ** = (1)“if a man comes to me and *does not treat* his father with *gentleness*” or (2) “. . . and does not *rightfully support* his father” or (3) “. . . and does not *forsake* his father” or (4) “. . . and he *truly hates* his father”

John 21:15 ἀγαπᾶς με πλέον τούτων = **הַתֵּה בַּנִי יוֹתֵר מִאֶלְהָה** = “Do you love me more than *kith-and-kin*? ”

PsSol 2:26 ἐκκεκεντημένοι ἐπὶ τῶν ὄρέων Αἰγύπτου = **נָחר עַל חֲרֵי מצְרִים** = “he was stabbed along the *inlets of Egypt*”

The high frequency of correspondence between Hebrew and Arabic words is illustrated in the *Addendum* to Chapter XIX (178–180) which lists twenty-nine Arabic cognates of the thirty-three lexemes in Jer 32:21–22. While these cognates are widely recognized in standard Hebrew lexicons, relevant nuances of five of them have gone unnoticed in recent interpretations of these verses. Moreover, Arabic cognates were helpful in clarifying the ambiguities of Septuagintal readings in Gen 16:12, Jer 31:22, Ezek 3:14, and Psa 68:31.

Non-Judean dialects of Hebrew, found in Exo 4:24–26 and in Prov 30:1–5, were quite baffling to interpreters who assumed these texts were in standard Judean Hebrew. Clarity came to these verses once dialectal elements were recognized and possible Arabic cognates were examined.

Although Arabic cognates provided most of the clues for the interpretation of the biblical and extra-biblical texts

examined in the chapters above, other Semitic languages including Akkadian, Aramaic, Syriac, Ugaritic, and Ethiopic provided many clues, as well as non-Semitic languages including Greek, Coptic, Egyptian, and in one case even Sanskrit.

In addition to new translations which are based on lexical data that had been overlooked, a number of the above translations come from the recognition that highly ambiguous Hebrew homographs permit a wide variety of interpretations. Variant definitions of homographs may be lexically correct, but not all definitions would convey the intent of the author —unless there had been a deliberate use of layered meanings. The statement of Jesus in Luke 14:26 when reconstructed in Hebrew presents the interpreter with this type of ambiguity. As a result, even in summary, four different translations for the reconstructed Hebrew text of this verse need to be noted.

While three chapters (IV, XXX, XXXII) focused primarily on biblical or biblically related names, the meaning of thirty six names were reviewed, and the uncertainties about the etymology and meaning of many of the following names were clarified.

Aaron	Dalmanutha	Massa
Abraham	Dudael	Mattattah
Abram	Hasmonean	Matthew
Agur	Horhaggidah	Miriam
Alphaeus	Huldah	Moriah
Amatti	Ithiel	Oded
Azazel	Jakeh	<i>Saba'im</i>
Ben Sa <small>ğ</small> da ²	Magadan	<i>Saphon</i>
Ben Pandira	Magdalene	Tekoa
Ben Pan <small>ç</small> ira	Martha	Thracida
Beth-hadurey	Mary	Ucal
Cassius	Massa	Zion

The emendations proposed in the chapters above include reading the MT:

- (1) מה שמו שמו as מה שמו (a haplography)
- (2) מה שם בינו as מה שם בנו (*scriptio plene*)
- (3) ה אשא אשרה as האשא אשר (shifting of a ה)
- (4) מאלף מאלף as מאלף (a haplography)
- (5) י בחמת רוח as בחמת רוחי (removing a י)
- (6) י כ תבונה as ב תכנית (a confusion of ב and כ and י)
- (7) מלא כתת פוך as מלאתה תפיך (a redivision)
- (8) ונקביך במ as ונקביך בך (confusion of נ and נ)
- (9) נ כרב הסוכן כרב הסוכך as כרב הסוכן כרב הסוכך (confusion of כ and נ)

These are modest changes to the received text—in contrast to bold emendations, like the one proposed by Holladay (see 166, above) who changed the MT אֱלֹהָה to בעלה, as if a נ could have been confused with an א.

More serious textual problem were encountered in Eze 13: 17–23 and 28:2–19, requiring a rearrangement of many lines in order to reconstruct a logical sequence of statements about the triage given to the wounded when Jerusalem fell in 587 B.C.E. and of statements by the king of Tyre about his being divine and his having been in the Garden of Eden.

Even baffling statements in the Gospels—like a star standing over a manger, throwing pearls to swine, putting a lamp under a cushion, dead people burying dead people, and a commandment to hate kith-and-kin after saying that “loving your neighbor” is the second greatest commandment—were clarified simply by reconstructing a Hebrew *Vorlage* and dealing with the ambiguities created once the reconstructed oral statement was written in consonantal Hebrew/Aramaic, much like the spelling found in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aberbach, M. and B. Grossfeld. 1982. *Targum Onkelos to Genesis*. New York: Ktav; Denver: Center for Judaic Studies, University of Denver.
- Abrahams, I. 1924. *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*. Second Series. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Abrahams, I. 1938. *Hagigah Translated into English with Notes, Glossary and Indices*. London: Soncino Press.
- Ackroyd, Peter. 1956. "Amos vii 14." *ET* 68: 94.
- Agnew, F. H. 1986. "The Origin of the NT Apostle-Concept: A Review of Research." *JBL* 105: 75–96.
- Aguirre, Edwin L. 1999. "The Great Total Eclipse." Published at <http://www.skypub.com/sights/eclipses/solar/9908solarpreview.html>
- Aharoni, Yochanan. 1958. "מקראים חשמונאים" In *אנציקלופדיה מקראית*. [Encyclopaedia Biblica: *thesaurus rerum biblicarum alphabeticò ordine digestus*], 317–318. Jerusalem: Bialik Institute. 1950–1988.
- Ahlström, G. W. 1971. *Joel and the Temple Cult of Jerusalem*. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 21. Leiden: Brill.
- Aland, Kurt, Matthew Black, Carlo M. Martini, Bruce Metzger, and Allen Wikgren, editors. *The Greek New Testament*. New York: American Bible Society; London: British and Foreign Bible Society.
- Albright, William F., C. S. Mann. 1971. *Matthew: Introduction, Translation, and Notes*. Anchor Bible 26. Garden City, New York: Doubleday.
- Alexander, J. A. 1875. *Commentary on the Prophecies of Isaiah*. New York: Scribners, 1846–1847. Grand Rapids: Zondervan. Reprint 1980 of 1875 edition.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Allegro, John. 1968. *Discoveries in the Judean Desert of Jordan: Qumrân Cave4. I (4Q158–4Q186)*. With the collaboration of Arnold A. Anderson. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Allen, R. B. 1990. *Numbers*. EBC. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan.
- Allen, W. C. 1912. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to Matthew*. ICC. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
- Anderson, Francis I. And David Noel Freedman. 1980. *Hosea*. AB 24. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Arndt, William F. and F. Wilbur Gingrich, editors. 1957. *A Greek-English lexicon of the New Testament and other early Christian literature*. Fourth revised and augmented edition, 1952. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ashley, T. R. 1993. *The Book of Numbers*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Avery-Peck, A. J., translator. 1988. *The Talmud of the Land of Israel: Terumot*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago.
- Bailey, Rebecca. 1998. “Neighbor, Neighbor, Who Is My Neighbor? An Exegetical Essay on Luke 10:25-37. *JBS*. 8: 23–34.
- Bardenhewer. 1895. *Der Name Maria. Geschichte der Deutung desselben*. Freiburg im Breisgau; St. Louis, MO: Herder.
- Barr, James. 1987. *Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament with Additions and corrections*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns. First edition Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968.
- Barrett, C. K. 1978. *The Gospel according to St. John: An Introduction with Commentary and Notes on the Greek Text*. Philadelphia: Westminster. Reprint of the 1951 Macmillan edition.
- Barton, George Aaron, 1908. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Ecclesiastes*. ICC. New York: Scribners.

- Basser, Herbert. 1993. "Let the Dead Bury Their Dead." *Approaches to Ancient Judaism*. New Series 5: 79–96.
- Bauer, Hans. 1933. "Die gottheiten von Ras Schamra." *ZAW*. 51: 81–101.
- Beare, Francis W. 1987. *The Gospel according to Matthew*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson.
- Begg, Christopher. 1996. "Ahaz, King of Judah according to Josephus." *SJOT*. 10: 28–52.
- Bell, Richard. 1937. *The Qur'an: Translation, with a Critical Rearrangement of the Surahs*. 2 volumes. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.
- Ben Yehuda, E. 1908–1959. *Thesaurus totius hebraitatis et veteris et recentioris* [מלון הלשון העברית הישנה והחדשה]. Berlin, later Jerusalem: Ben Yehuda Hozaa-La'Or Le-zecher Eliezer Ben Yehuda.
- Berliner, A. 1884. *Targum Onkelos: Herausgegeben und Erläutert*. Berlin: Gorzrlanczyk.
- Bernard, J. H. 1928. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. John*. ICC. Edited by A. H. Mc Neile. 2 volumes. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.
- Berrin, Shani L. 2000. "Pesher of Nahum." In *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam, editors. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Berthier, A., and R. Charlier. 1955. *Le sanctuaire punique d'El Hofra à Constantine Texte*. Paris: Arts et Metiers Graphiques.
- Bertholet, Alfred. 1908. "Eine crux interpretum." *ZAW* 28: 58–59.
- Binns, L. Elliott. 1927. *The Book of Numbers with Introduction and Notes*. London: Methuen.
- Black, Matthew. 1949–1950. "Let the Dead Bury Their Dead." *ET* 61: 219–220.

- Black, Matthew. 1967. *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Black, Matthew. 1970. "Uncomfortable Words." *ET* 81: 115–118.
- Block, Daniel I. 1997. *The Book of Ezekiel*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Blommerde, A. C. M. 1969. *Northwest Semitic Grammar and Job*. BibOr 22. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute.
- Bockmuehl, Markus. 1998. "Let the Dead Bury Their Dead" (Matt 8:22 /Luke 9:60): Jesus and the Halakhah." *JTS*. 49: 553–581.
- Boling, Robert. 1982. *Joshua A New Translation with Notes and Commentary*. Anchor Bible 6. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Boring, M. Eugene. 1995. "Matthew." In *The New Interpreters Bible*. Volume 8: *General Articles on the New Testament: Matthew; Mark*. Nashville: Abingdon.
- Box, G. H. 1916. *The Virgin Birth of Jesus: A Critical Examination of the Gospel-Narratives of the Nativity, and Other New Testament and Early Christian Evidence, and the Alleged Influence of Heathen Ideas*. London: Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons.
- Braude, W. G. and I. J. Kapstein. 1975. *Pěsikta dě Rab Kahāna*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society.
- Braund, Susan H. 1991. *Lucan: Civil War*. Oxford: Oxford.
- Braverman, Jay. 1978. *Jerome's Commentary on Daniel*. CBQ Monograph Series 7. Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America.
- Breasted, J. R. 1906. *Ancient Records of Egypt*. 5 volumes. Chicago: University of Chicago. Reprint 1962, New York: Russell and Russell.
- Brenz, Johannes. 1567. *In Scriptum Apostoli et Evangelistae Matthei de Rebus Gestis Domini Nostri Jesu Christi Commentarius*. Tübingen: Mohard. (Cited by Luz.)

- Brettler, Marc and Michael Fishbane. 1993. *Minhah le-Nahum: Biblical and Other Studies Presented to Nahum M. Sarna in Honour of his 70th Birthday*. JSOT Supplement 154: 242–244. Sheffield: JSOT Press.
- Briggs, Emilie Grace. 1906. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms*. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.
- Bright, John. 1965. *Jeremiah*. AB 21. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Brooke, A. E. and N. McLean. 1906. *The Old Testament in Greek: according to the text of Codex Vaticanus: Supplemented from other uncial manuscripts, with a critical apparatus containing the variants of the chief ancient authorities for the text of the Septuagint*. Volume 1, Part 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brown, Francis, G. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, editors. 1907. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1977 Reprint. (Cited as BDB.)
- Brown, Raymond. 1966. *The Gospel according to John (i–xii)*. AB 29. Garden City, NT: Doubleday.
- Brown, Raymond. 1970. *The Gospel according to John (xiii–xxi)*. AB 29. Garden City, NT: Doubleday.
- Brown, Raymond. 1982. “Rachab in Mt 1,5 Probably is Rachab of Jericho.” *Biblica* 63: 79–80.
- Brown-Gutloff, Susan E. 1991. “The Voice of Rachel in Jeremiah 31: A Calling to ‘Something New.’” *USQR* 45: 177–190.
- Bruce, F. F. 1983. *The Hard Sayings of Jesus*. Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press.
- Buchanan, George Wesley. 1996. *The Gospel of Matthew*. MBC. Volume I, Book I. Lewiston, NY: Mellon Biblical Press.
- Bultmann, R. 1961. *Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition*. Fifth Edition. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.

- Burney, C. F. 1925. *The Poetry of Our Lord*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Burrows, Millar, editor. 1951. *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery*. Volume 2. New Haven: The American Schools of Oriental Research.
- Calderone, P. J. 1961. "HDL-II in Poetic Texts." *CBQ* 23: 451–460.
- Calderone, P. J. 1962. "Supplementary Note on HDL-II." *CBQ* 24: 412–419.
- Carroll, Robert P. 1986. *Jeremiah: A Commentary*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press.
- Cary, Earnest. Translator. 1916. *Dio's Roman History with an English Translation on the Basis of the Version of Herbert Baldwin Foster*. 9 volumes. London: W. Heinemann; New York: Macmillan, 1914–27.
- Castell, Edmund. 1669. *Lexicon Heptaglotton. Hebraicum, Chaldaicum, Syricum, Samaritanicum, Æthiopicum, Arabicum, et Persicum Separatim*. 2 volumes. London: Thomas Roycroft.
- Chaney, M. 1976. *HDL-II and the "Song of Deborah": Textual, Philological, and Sociological Studies in Judges 5, with Special Reference to the Verbal Occurrences of HDL in Biblical Hebrew*. Ph.D. Dissertation. Harvard University.
- Chaney, M. 1983. "Ancient Palestinian Movements and the Formation of Premonarchic Israel." In *Palestine in Transition: The Emergence of Ancient Israel*, 39–90. Edited by D. N. Freedman and D. Graf. Sheffield: Almond Press.
- Charles, R. H. 1913. *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English with Introductions and Critical and Explanatory Notes to the Several Books*. 2 volumes. Reprint 1973. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Childs, Brevard S. 1974. *The Book of Exodus: A Critical, Theological Commentary*. OTL. Philadelphia: Westminster.

- Clarke, E. G. 1984. *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan of the Pentateuch: Text and Concordance, with collaboration by W.E. Aufrecht, J.C. Hurd, and F. Spitzer*. Hoboken, N.J: Ktav Pub. House.
- Cohen, A. 1938. *Soṭah. Translated into English with Notes and Glossary and Indices*. London: Soncino Press.
- Conder, C. R. 1899. "Notes on the Antiquities of the Book of Joshua." *PEFQS* 161– 162.
- Conrad, J. 1980. "נְזָקֵן." In *TDOT* 4: 122–131. G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren, editors. David E. Green translator. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Cooke, G. A. 1936. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Ezekiel*. ICC. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.
- Cowley, A. E. 1923. *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B. C.* Oxford: Clarendon.
- Craddock, Fred. 1990. *Luke*. IBCTP. Louisville: John Knox
- Craigie, Peter. 1971. "Some Further Notes on the Song of Deborah." *VT* 22: 349– 353.
- Crum, Walter. 1939. *Coptic Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Curtis, Edward Lewis and Albert Alonzo Madsen. 1910. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles*. ICC. New York: Scribners.
- Dahoo, Mitchell. 1966. *Psalms I*. AB 17a. Garden City: Doubleday.
- Dahoo, Mitchell. 19968. *Psalms II*. AB 17b. Garden City: Doubleday.
- Dahoo, Mitchell. 1975. "The Emphatic *Lamedh* in Jer 14:21 and Ezek 34:29." *CBQ* 37:341–342.
- Dalman, Gustaf. 1929. *Jesus-Jeshua: Studies in the Gospels*. London: SPCK. Reprint 1971. New York: Ktav.
- Dalman, Gustaf. 1935. *Sacred Site and Ways*. Translated by Paul P. Levertoff. New York: Macmillan.

- Davies, W. D. 1964. *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Davies, W. D., Dale C. Allison. 1988-1997. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to Matthew*. ICC. 3 volumes. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.
- Delitzsch, Franz. 1887. *Neuer Commentar über die Genesis*. 5th edition. Leipzig: Dörffling und Franke.
- Delitzsch, Franz. 1920. *Die Lese- und Schreibfehler im Alten Testament*. Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter.
- Derrett, J. Duncan M. 1985. “Two Harsh Sayings Of Christ Explained.” *BR* 103: 218–229.
- Díez Macho, Alejandro. 1968–1970. *Neophyti I: Targum Palaestinense ms. de la Biblioteca Vaticana / edición principio, introducción y versión castellana. Volume I: Génesis., Volume II: Éxodo*. Traducciones cotejadas de la versión castellana: francesa: R. Le Déaut, inglesa: Martin McNamara y Michael Maher. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.
- Dillman, Chr. Fr. 1864. *Lexicon Linguae Aethiopicae cum Indice Latino*. 1955 Reprint. New York: Frederick Unger.
- Donner, H. And W. Röllig. 1964. *Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften*. 3 volumes. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Doudna, Greg. 1999. *4Q Pesher Nahum: A Critical Edition*. A Dissertation submitted for Doctor of Theology Degree at the University of Copenhagen. An abstract is available at www.mail-archive.com/orion@panda.mscc.huji.ac.il/msg00637.html.
- Dozy, Reinhart Pieter Anne. 1927. *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*. Leiden: Brill; Paris: Maisonneuve Frères.
- Driver, Godfrey Rolles. 1955. “Amos vii 14.” *ET* 67: 91–92
- Driver, S. R. 1902. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy*. Third edition. 1951 reprint. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

- Duff, J. D. Translator. 1928. *Lucan: The Civil War*. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Edleman, S. R. 1891. *Hathirosch oder logische Erklärung vieler Räthselhaft=dunkel und befremden Stellen in Midrasch Rabba*. Warsaw.
- Eichrodt, Walther. 1970. *Ezekiel: A Commentary*. OTL. Philadelphia: Westminster.
- Elliger, K. and W. Rudolph, editors. 1984. *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. Quae antea cooperantibus A. Alt, O. Eissfeldt, P. Kahle. Ediderat R. Kittel. Adjuvantibus H. Bardtke . . . [et al.]. Cooperantibus H. P. Rüger et J. Ziegler. Textum Masoreticum curavit H. P. Rüger; Masoram elaboravit G. E. Weil. Editio secunda emendata opera W. Rudolph et H. P. Rüger. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelstiftung. (Cited as *BHS*.)
- Epstein, A. 1885. “The Beasts of the Four Kingdoms.” *BTal* 4: 33.
- Epstein, Isidore. 1935–1948. *The Babylonian Talmud: Translated into English with Notes, Glossary and Indices*. London: Soncino Press.
- Epstein, Isidore, E. W. Kirzner, and M. Ginsberg. 1964. *Hebrew-English Edition of the Babylonian Talmud: Baba Kamma*. London: Soncino.
- Espenak, Fred. 1999. “Five Millennium Catalogue of Solar Eclipses, -1990 to +3000.” Published on the internet at <http://sunearth.gsfc.nasa.gov/eclipse/SEcat/SECatalog.html>.
- Evans, B. 1969. *Dictionary of Quotations*. New York and Avenel, NJ: Wings Books.
- Ewald, Heinrich. 1870. *Ewald's Introductory Hebrew Grammar*. London: Asher.
- Faulkner, Raymond O. 1976. *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*. Oxford: University Press.
- Firmage, Edwin. 1992. “Zoology” *ABD* 6: 1130–1144.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Fitzmyer, J. A. 1965. "The Aramaic 'Elect of God' Text from Qumran Cave IV." *CBQ* 27: 361.
- Fitzmyer, J. A. 1979. *A Wandering Aramean: Collected Aramaic Essays*. Missoula, MO: Scholars Press.
- Fitzmyer, J. A. and D. J. Harrington. 1978. *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic*. Biblia et Orientalia 34. Rome: Biblical Institute Press.
- Franklyn, Paul. 1983. "The Sayings of Agur in Proverbs 30: Piety or Scepticism." *ZAW* 95: 238–252.
- Freedman, David. N. and J. Lundbom. 1980. "חַדְחָל chādhal." In *TDOT* 4: 216–121. T. G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren, editors. David E. Green translator. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Freedman, David Noel and Francis I. Andersen. 1989. *Amos: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. AB 24A. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Freedman, H. and Maurice Simon, editors. 1951. *Midrash Rabbah: Translated into English with Notes, Glossary and Indices*. 10 volumes. Volume 7: *Lamentations*. London: Soncino Press
- Friedrich, J., and W. Röllig. 1970. *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik*. AnOr 46. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute.
- Friedrich, Johannes. 1952. *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.
- Gardiner, Alan. 1936. "The Egyptian of Some English Personal Names." *JAOS*. 56: 189–197.
- Gardiner, Alan. 1966. *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to a Study of the Hieroglyphs*. Third edition. London: Oxford University.
- Gaster, M. 1899. *The Chronicles of Jerahmeel*. Reprinted 1971. New York: Ktav.

- Gelb, Ignace J. and A. Leo Oppenheim, et al., 1956–. *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago: J. J. Augustin: Oriental Institute University of Chicago. (Cited as *CAD*.)
- Geldenhuys, Norval. 1979. *Commentary on the Gospel of Luke: The English Text with Introduction, Exposition and Notes*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Gelston, A. 1987. *The Peshitta of the Twelve Prophets*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Gevaryahu, Gilad J. and Michael L. Wise. 1999. “Why Does the Seder Begin with Karpas?” *Jewish Bible Quarterly*. 27: 104–110.
- Gevaryahu, Gilad. 2002. Private communications on the variants of *Beth Hadurey* and the bibliography on Targum *Pseudo-Jonathan*.
- Ginsburg, Christian D. 1970. *The Song of Songs and Coheleth (Commonly Called the Book of Ecclesiastes)*. Translated from the Original Hebrew, with a Commentary, Historical and Critical. Prolegomenon by Sheldon H. Blank. 2 volumes. in 1. New York, Ktav. Original edition 1857, London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts.
- Ginzberg, Louis. 1909–1938. *The Legends of the Jews*. 7 volumes. Index by Boaz Cohen. Reprinted 1968. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America.
- Gnilka, Joachim. 1986. *Das Matthäusevangelium*. Freiburg: Herder.
- Godet, Frédéric Louis. 1881. *A Commentary on the Gospel of St. Luke*. 2 volumes translated from the second French edition by M. D. Cusin. 1952 reprint of the fifth English edition. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.
- Godley, A. D. 1920. *Herodotus with an English Translation*. 4 volumes. Loeb Classical Library. New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons; 1957 Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

- Goetze, A. 1940. "The City Khalbi and the Khapiru People." *BASOR*. 79: 32–34.
- Goldenberg, David M. 1996. "Retroversion to Jesus' Ipsissima Verba and the Vocabulary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic: The Case of *mata'* and *qarta'*." *Biblica* 1996: 77: 64–83.
- Goldschmidt, Lazarus. 1933. *Der Babylonische Talmud: mit einschluss der vollstaendigen Misnah hrsg. nach der ersten,zensurfreien Bombergschen Ausgabe (Venedig 1520–23)*. . . . Haag: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Gordon, C. H. 1965. *Ugaritic Textbook*. Analecta Orientalia 38. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute.
- Goulder, M. D. 1974. *Midrash and Lection in Matthew*. London: SPCK.
- Gray, G. B. 1903. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Numbers*. ICC. New York: Charles Scribners.
- Gray, John. 1970. *I & II Kings*. OTL. Philadelphia: Westminster.
- Green, J. B. 1997, *The Gospel of Luke*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Grintz, J. M. 1960. "Hebrew as the Spoken and Written Language in the Last Days of the Second Temple." *JBL* 79: 32–47.
- Guillaumont, A., H.-Ch. Puech, G. Quispel, W. Till and Y. ^cAbd Al Masiḥ, translators. 1959. *The Gospel According to Thomas*. New York: Harper and Row; Leiden: Brill.
- Gundry, Robert H. 1994. *Matthew : A Commentary on His Handbook for a Mixed Church under Persecution*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Gundry, Robert H. 1993. *Mark: A Commentary on His Apology for the Cross*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Habel, Norman C. 1967. "Ezekiel 28 and the Fall of the First Man." *CTM* 38 (8): 516–524.
- Handy, L. K. 1994. "The Role of Huldah in Josiah's Cult Reform." *ZAW* 106: 40–53.

- Harden, J. M. 1922. *Psalterium Iuxta Hieronymi*. London: SPCK.
- Harper, William Rainey. 1905. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Amos and Hosea*. ICC. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
- Harrington, Daniel J. and Anthony J. Saldařini. 1987. *Targum Jonathan of the Former Prophets: Introduction, Translation, and Notes*. The Aramaic Bible. Volume 10. Wilmington, DE: M. Glazier, 1987.
- Harris, Z. S. 1936. *A Grammar of the Phoenician Literature*. AOS 8. New Haven: American Oriental Society.
- Hatch, E. and H. Redpath. 1897. *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament*. 2 volumes. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Reprint 1954, Graz, Austria: Akademischen Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt.
- Hava, J. G. 1915. *Arabic-English Dictionary for the Use of Students*. Beirut: Catholic Press.
- Heller, Jan. 1966. "Die Schweigende Sonne." *CV* 9: 73–78.
- Henderson, Jeffrey. 1975. *The Maculate Muse: Obscene Language in Attic Comedy*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Hengel, M. 1981. *The Charismatic Leader and His Followers*. Translator J. C. C. Greig; Editor J. Riches. New York: Crossroads. Second edition 1996. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
- Hengel, M. 1989. *The Zealots: Investigations into Jewish Freedom Movement in the Period from Herod I until 70 A.D.* Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
- Herford, R. Travers. 1903. *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash*. London: Williams and Norgate.
- Hewitt, James. 2000. *A Philological Investigation of the Hebrew Vorlage of the Hebrew Version of the Gospel of Matthew in Shem-Tob Ben Shaprut's Eben Bohan*. Unpublished Dissertation. Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Hill, David. 1972. *The Gospel of Matthew*. NCB. London: Olibphants and, 1981, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Hillers, Delbert R. 1987. "Dust: Some Aspects of Old Testament Imagery." In *Love and Death in the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of Marvin H. Pope*, edited by J. H. Marks and R. M. Good. Guilford, Connecticut: Four Quarters Publishing.
- Holladay, John S. 1968. "The Day(s) the Moon Stood Still." *JBL* 87: 166–178.
- Holladay, William L. 1966. "JER. XXXI 22B Reconsidered: 'The Woman Encompasses the Man,'" *VT* 16: 236–239.
- Holladay, William. 1986. *Jeremiah 1: A Commentary of the Book of Jeremiah Chapters 1–25*. Hermeneia. Edited by Paul D. Hanson. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Holladay, William L. 1989. *Jeremiah 2: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah Chapters 26–52*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Howard, George. 1986. "The Textual Nature of an Old Hebrew Version of Matthew." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 105: 49–63.
- Howard, George. 1987. *The Gospel of Matthew according to a Primitive Hebrew Text*. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press. Revised 1995. *The Hebrew Gospel of Matthew* Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press.
- Howard, H. 1949–1950. "Was His Father Lying Dead at Home?" *ET* 61: 350.
- Huehnergard, John. 1983. "Asseverative *la and Hypothetical *lu and law." *JAOS* 103: 569–593.
- Hurst, L. D. 1986. "The Neglected Role of Semantics in the Search for the Aramaic Words of Jesus." *JSNT* 28: 71.
- Hyatt, J. P. H. 1980. *Exodus*. NCB. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Jacob, Benno. 1992. *The Second Book of the Bible: Exodus*. Hoboken, NJ: Ktav.

- James, Montague Rhodes. 1924. *The Apocryphal New Testament: Being the Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypses, with Other Narratives and Fragments*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Jastrow, Marcus. 1896–1897. “Jeremiah 5:8.” *AJSL* 13: 216–217.
- Jastrow, Marcus. 1903. *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and the Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*. London: Luzac.
- Jeppesen, Knud. 1991. “You Are a Cherub, but No God!” *SJOT* 5: 83–94.
- Jeremias, Joachim. 1963. “Matthäus 7, 6a.” In *Abraham unser Vater: Juden und Christen im Gespräch über die Bibel*, Festschrift für Otto Michel zum 60. Geburtstag. Leiden, Köln: Brill.
- Jeremias, Joachim. 1966. *Abba: Studien zur neutestamentlichen Theologie und Zeitgeschichte*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1966.
- Jeremias, Joachim. 1971. *New Testament Theology*. Volume I: *The Proclamation of Jesus*. NTL. Translator J. Bowder. London: SCM.
- Jones, Douglas Rawlinson. 1992. *Jeremiah*. NCB. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Jung, Leo. 1938. *Yoma: Translated into English with Notes, Glossary and Indices*. London: Soncino Press.
- Kaltner, John. 1996. *The Use of Arabic in Biblical Hebrew Lexicography*. CBQ Monograph Series 28. Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America.
- Kapelrud, Arvid. 1948. *Joel Studies*. Uppsala Universitets Årskrift 4. Uppsala: A. B. Lundequistska Bokhandlen; Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Kautzsch, E., editor. 1910. *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*. Tr. A. E. Cowley. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Second edition. Reprint 1974. (Cited as GKC.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Kee, H. C. 1983. "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs." In *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Edited by J. H. Charlesworth. 2 volumes. New York: Doubleday.
- Keener, Craig S. 1997. *Matthew*. IVPNTC. Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press.
- Keener, Craig S. 1999. *A Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Kennicott, B. 1780. *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum cum Variis Lectionibus*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Kingsbury, Jack Dean. 1988. "On Following Jesus: The 'Eager' Scribe and the 'Reluctant' Disciple (Matthew 8.18-22)." *NTS* 1988: 34: 45–59.
- Kirzner, E. W., I. Epstein, and M. Ginsberg. 1964. *Hebrew-English Edition of the Babylonian Talmud: Baba Kamma*. London: Soncino.
- Kittel, Gerhart, editor. 1966. *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. Edited by Gerhard Kittel. Geoffrey W. Bromiley, Translator and Editor. 10 volumes. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Klausner, Joseph. 1956. *The Messianic Idea in Israel from Its Beginning to the Completion of the Mishnah*. London: George Allen and Unwin.
- Klein, E. D. 1987. *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the Hebrew Language for Readers of English*. New York: Macmillan.
- Klemm, Hans G. 1969–1970. "Das Wort von der selbstbestattung der Toten." Beobachtungen zur auslegungsgeschichte vom MT VIII.22 Par." *NTS* 16: 60–75.
- Koehler, L. and W. Baumgartner. 1994. *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Revised by W. Baumgartner, J. J. Stamm; translated and edited by M. E. J. Richardson, G. J. Jongeling-Vos, and L. J. DeRegt. Leiden: Brill. (Cited KBS)

- Köhler, Konrad. 1919. "Zu Mt 5, 22." *ZNT* 19: 91–95.
- Kopf, L. 1958. "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch." *VT* 8: 187–188.
- Kosmola, Hans. 1962. "The Bloody Husband." *VT* 12: 14–28.
- Krause, Martin, editor 1972. *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts in Honour of Alexander Bohlig*. Nag Hammadi Studies 3. Leiden: Brill.
- Krauss S. 1902. *Das Leben Jesu nach jüdischen Quellen*. Berlin.
- Krause, Samuel. 1914. *Monumenta Talmudica*. Vienna: Orion-Verlag.
- Lachs, S. T. 1987. *A Rabbinic Commentary on the New Testament: The Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke*. New York: Ktav.
- Laible, Heinrich and Dalman. 1893. *Jesus Christ in Talmud, Midrash, Zohar, etc.* Cambridge.
- Laible, Heinrich. 1891. *Jesus Christus im Talmud*. Berlin.
- Lane, E. W. 1863–1893. *Arabic-English Lexicon*. 8 volumes. Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate. Reprinted 1956. New York: Unger.
- Leaney, A. R. C. 1966. *The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning*, NTL. London: SCM Press.
- Levine, Baruch A. 1991. *Leviticus. The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation*. The Jewish Publication Society Torah Commentary. New York: Union of American Hebrew Congregations.
- Levy, Jacob. 1924. *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim. Nebst Beiträgen Heinrich Leberechte Fleiscger*. Berlin: Benjamin Harz Verlag.
- Lewis, T. J. 1985. "The Song of Hannah and Deborah: HDL-II (Growing Plump)." *JBL* 104: 105–108.

- Liddell, H. G., and R. Scott. 1940. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. New (ninth) edition revised and augmented by Sir Henry S. Jones and Roderick McKenzie. *Supplement* 1968, edited by E. A. Barber, P. Maas, M. Scheller, and M. L. West. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Reprint 1957.
- Lightfoot, John. 1658. *A Commentary on the New Testament from the Talmud and Hebraica: Matthew—I Corinthians*. Volume II: *Matthew – Mark*. Volume III: *Luke – John*. 1979 reprint of the 1859 edition. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House.
- Lindars, Barnabas. 1972. *The Gospel of John*. NCB. London: Oliphants.
- Lindenberger, J. M. 1983. *The Aramaic Proverbs of Ahiqar*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Lindenberger, J. M. 1985. "Ahiqar." In *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. J. H. Charlesworth, editor. Garden City: Doubleday.
- Loewenstamm, Samuel E. 1958. "חַשְׁמָןִיּוֹתֶרֶת." In the **אנציקלופדיה מקראית**. [Encyclopaedia Biblica: *thesaurus rerum biblicarum alphabetico ordine digestus / ediderunt Institutum Bialik . . .*], 316. Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1950–1988.
- Lucanus, Marcus Anneaus. *Pharsalia*, Book VIII "Death of Pompeius." Translated by Edward Ridley. London: Longmans, Green: 1896. Also translated by J. D. Duff for the Loeb Classical Library.
- Luria, Ben-Zion. 1985. "A Prophet of the Lord by the Name of Oded" (2 Chron. 28:9)." *Beth Mikra*. 102: 413–415.
- Luria, Ben-Zion. 1987. "Oded: A Prophet of God." *Dor Le Dor*. 15: 256–259.
- Luz, Ulrich. 2001. *Matthew 8–20*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress.
- M'Neile, Allen. 1915. *The Gospel according to St. Matthew: The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes, and Indices*. 1952 reprint. New York: Macmillan.

- Maas, A. J. 1912. "Mary." In *The Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol XV*. Online edition <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/15464a.htm>.
- Macdonell, Arthur A. 1924. *A Practical Sanskrit Dictionary with Transliteration, Accentuation and Etymological Analysis Throughout*. London, Oxford University Press.
- Macho, Alejandro Díez. See Díez Macho.
- Macintosh, A. A. 1976. "A Consideration of the Problems Presented by Psalm II. 11 and 12." *JTS*, N.S., 28: 1–14.
- Mann, C. S. 1988. *Mark: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. AB. New York: Doubleday.
- Manson, Thomas Walter. 1949. *The Sayings of Jesus*. London: SCM.
- Marenof, S. 1931–1932. "Note Concerning the Meaning of the Word 'Ephah,' Zechariah 5:5–11." *AJSL* 264–267.
- Margalit, Baruch. 1992. "The Day the Sun Did Not Stand Still: A New Look at Joshua X 8-15." *VT* 42: 466–491.
- Margalith, O. 1981. "Kaleb: Homonym or Metaphor?" *VT* 33: 491–495.
- Margulis, B. 1974. "Weltbaum and Weltberg in Ugaritic Literature: Notes and Observations on RS 24.245." *ZAW* 86: 1–23.
- Marsh, J. 1968. *The Gospel of St. John*. Hardmonsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books.
- Marshall, I. Howard. 1978. *The Gospel of Luke*. NIGTC. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Martínez, Florentino García and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar. 2000. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*. 2 volumes. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- McCane, Byron R. 1990. "'Let the Dead Bury Their Own Dead': Secondary Burial and Matt. 8:21–22." *HTR* 1990: 83: 31–43.
- McCarter, P. Kyle. 1984. *II Samuel*. AB. New York: Doubleday.

- McDaniel, Thomas F. 1968. "Philological Studies in Lamentations, I and II." *Biblica* 49: 27–53 and 199–220.
- McDaniel, Thomas F. 1983. *Deborah Never Sang: A Philological Study of the Song of Deborah*. Jerusalem: Makor.
- McDaniel, Thomas F. 2000. *The Song of Deborah: Poetry in Dialect*, at <http://tmcdaniel.palmerseminary.edu/Deborah.pdf>.
- McKane, William. 1970. *Proverbs: A New Approach*. OTL. Philadelphia: Westminster.
- McKane, William. 1986. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Jeremiah. Volume I. Introduction and Commentary on Jeremiah I–XXV*. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.
- McKay, K. L. 1985. "Style and Significance in the Language of John 21:15–17." *NT* 27: 319–333.
- McKenzie, John L. 1959. "Myth and the Old Testament." *CBQ* 21: 265–282.
- Mead, G. R. S. 1921. *Pistis Sophia: a Gnostic miscellany : being for the most part extracts from the books of the Saviour, to which are added excerpts from a cognate literature*. 1963 reprint. London: J. M. Watkins.
- Mendenhall, G. E. 1975. *The Tenth Generation*. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Meyers, Carol L. and Eric M. 1987. *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. AB 25b. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Michel, O. 1966. "κυῶν, κυνορίον." In *TDNT* 3: 1102–1004. Edited by G. Kittel. Translated and edited by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. 10 volumes 1964–1976. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Michel, O. 1967. "μισέω." In *TDNT* 4: 683–689.
- Milgrom, J. 1990. *Numbers*. JPSTC. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society.

- Milgrom, Jacob. 1991. *Leviticus: 1–16. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. AB. New York: Doubleday.
- Millard, A. R. 1992. “Abraham.” In *ABD I*: 35–41. David Noel Freedman, editor. New York: Doubleday. CDRom edition, 1997.
- Miller, James E. 1993. “The Maelaek of Tyre (Ezekiel 29,11–19).” *ZAW* 105: 497–500.
- Mitchell, Hinkley G., John Merlin Powis Smith, and Julius A. Bewer. 1912. *A Critical and Exegetical commentary on Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi and Johah*. ICC. New York: Scribners.
- Monier-Williams, Monier. 1872. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary Etymologically and Philologically Arranged with Special Reference to Greek, Latin, Gothic, German, Anglo-Saxon, and Other Cognate Indo-European Languages*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Montgomery, James. A. 1951. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Kings*. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.
- Moscati, Sabatino and A. Spitaler, E. Ullendorf and W. von Soden. 1964. *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*. Porta Linguarum Orientalium. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Muller, Hans-Peter. 1990. “Parallelen zu Gen. 2ff. und Ez. 28 aus dem Gilgamesch-Epos.” *ZAH* 3: 167–178.
- Munck, Johannes. 1967. *The Acts of the Apostles*. AB 32, Revised by W. F. Albright and C. S. Mann. Garden City: Doubleday.
- Murphy, Roland Edmund. 1990. *The Song of Songs: a Commentary on the Book of Canticles or the Song of Songs*. Edited by S. Dean McBride, Jr. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Myers, Jacob. 1965. *I Chronicles*. AB 12. *II Chronicles*. AB 13. Garden City: Doubleday.
- Naber, S. A. 1888–1896. *Flavius Josephus Opera Omnia*. Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum. 6 volumes. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Nelson, Richard D. 1995. "The Day the Sun Stood Frozen in Amazement." *Lutheran Theological Seminary Bulletin* 76: 3–10.
- Neusner, J. 1986. *The Talmud of the Land of Israel: Abodah Zarah*, Volume 33. Chicago and London: University of Chicago.
- Neusner, J. 1987. *Mishnah Before 70*. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- Noth, Martin. 1928. *Die israelitischen Personennamen der Gemeinsenitischen Namengebung*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.
- Noth, Martin. 1968. *Numbers: A Commentary*. OTL. Philadelphia: Westminster Press.
- Nussbaum, M. C. 1986. *The Fragility of Goodness: Luck and Ethics in Greek Tragedy and Philosophy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Oepke, Albrecht. 1966. "κρύπτω, ἀποκρύπτω, κρυπτός, κρυφαῖος, κρυφῆ, κρύπτη, ἀπόκρυφος." In *TDNT* 3: 957–999. Edited by Gerhard Kittel. Translated and edited by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. 10 volumes 1964–1976. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Olofsson, Staffen. 1995. "The Crux Interpretum in Ps 2.12." *SJOT* 9: 185–199.
- Olson, D. T. 1996. *Numbers*. Louisville, KY: John Knox Press.
- Parke-Taylor, Geoffrey H. 1975. *Yahweh: The Divine Name in the Bible*. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.
- Parrot, Douglas M. 1979. In *Nag Hammadi Codices V, 2–5 and VI*. Nag Hammadi Studies XI, edited by Martin Krause, James A. Robinson, Frederik Wisse, et al. Leiden: Brill.
- Paul, Shalom M. 1993. "Gleanings from the Biblical and Talmudic Lexica in Light of Akkadian." In *Minhah le-Nahum: Biblical and Other Studies Presented to Nahum M. Sarna in Honour of his 70th Birthday*. JSOT Supplement 154: 242–244.. Edited by Marc Brettler and Michael Fishbane. Sheffield: JSOT Press.

- Payne Smith, R. 1891–1897. *Thesarus Syriacus*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Payne Smith, J. A. 1903. *Compendious Syriac Dictionary*. 1957 reprint. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Perles, Felix. 1919–1920. “Zwei Übersetzungsfehler im Texte der Evangelien.” *ZNW* 19: 96.
- Perles, Felix. 1926. “Zur Erklärung von Mt 7:6.” *ZNW* 25: 163–164.
- Perrin, Bernadotte. 1917. *Plutarch's Lives*. Volume 5: *Agesilaus and Pompey, Pelopidas and Marcellus*. Loeb Classical Library. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.
- Petersen, David. 1984. *Haggai and Zechariah 1-8: A Commentary*. Philadelphia: Westminster.
- Peterson, William. 1998. Review of George Anton Kiraz, *Comparative Edition of the Syriac Gospels* (Leiden: Brill, 1996). <http://rosetta.atla-certr.org/TC/vol02/Kiraz1997rev.html>.
- Phipps, William. 1990. “A Woman was the First to Declare Scripture Holy.” *BR* 6: 14–14, 44.
- Plaut, W. Gunther. 1974. *Genesis. The Torah: A Modern Commentary*. New York: Union of American Hebrew Congregations.
- Plummer, Alfred. 1953. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel of St. Luke*. ICC. First edition 1896. Reprint of the 1922 fifth edition. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.
- Pope, Marvin. 1977. *Song of Songs: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. AB 7c. Garden City: Doubleday.
- Pritchard, J. 1955. *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*. Princeton: University Press.
- Propp, William H. 1993. “The Bloody Bridegroom.” *VT* 43: 495–518.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Quinn, J. D. 1981. "Is Rahab in Mt 1,5 Rahab of Jericho?" *Biblica* 62: 225–228.
- Rabbinowitz, J. 1938. *Ta'anith. Translated into English with Notes and Glossary and Indices*. London: Soncino Press.
- Rabinowitz, Isaac. 1978. "The Meaning of the Key ('Demetrius') Passage of Qumran Nahum-Pesher." *JAOS* 98: 304–399.
- Rad, Gerhart von. 1961a. *Das erste Buch Mose, Genesis*. Sixth Edition. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.
- Rad, Gerhart von. 1961b. *Genesis*. The Old Testament Library. John H. Marks, translator. Philadelphia: Westminster.
- Rad, Gerhard von. 1966. *Deuteronomy; A Commentary*. OTL. Philadelphia: Westminster.
- Rahlfs, Alfred. 1950. *Septuaginta id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes*. 2 volumes. Fourth edition. Stuttgart: Privilegierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt.
- Rainey, A. F. 1974. "Dust and Ashes," *Tel Aviv* 1: 77–83.
- Rajak, Tessa. 1992. "Hasmonean." In *ABD* 3: 67–76. David Noel Freedman, editor. New York: Doubleday.
- Reddit, Paul L. 1995. *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*. NCB. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Richardson, H. Neil. 1966. "A Critical Note on Amos 7:14." *JBL* 85: 89.
- Ridderbos, J. 1985. *Isaiah*. BSC. Grand Rapids: Zondervan
- Ridley, Edward. 1896. Translator. *Marcus Anneaus Lucanus' Pharsalia*, Book VIII "Death of Pompeius." London: Longmans, Green.
- Ringgren, Helmer. 1974. "אָח 'āch; אֲחֹתָה 'āchôth." In *TDOT* I: 188–192. T. G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren, editors. David E. Green translator. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Robert, André, et R. Tournay. 1963. *Cantiques: traduction et commentaire*. Avec le concours de A. Feuillet. Paris: J. Gabalda.

- Robertson, A. T. 1914. *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research*. New York: Hodder and Stoughton, George H. Doran.
- Robinson, J. M., editor. 1977. *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*. San Francisco: Harper and Row.
- Rogers, C. 1986. "Moses: Meek or Miserable." *JETS* 29: 257–263.
- Ross, J. F. 1962. "Miriam." In *IDB* 3: 402. George A. Buttrick, editor. Nashville: Abingdon.
- Rudolph, Wilhelm. 1968. *Jeremia*. HAT. 12. Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck].
- Ruiten, J. T. A. G. M. van. 1992. "The Intertextual Relationship between Isaiah 65,25 and Isaiah 11,6–9." In *The Scriptures and the Scrolls: Studies in Honour of A. S. van der Woude on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*. Edited by F. García Martínez, A. Hilhorst, and C. J. Labuschagne. Leiden: Brill.
- תרגם יונתן בן עוזיאל על התורה מתורנים. לרשותם ציוני מקורות ומקבילות. Jerusalem.
- Ryder, David. 1984. *The Gospel According to St. Matthew*. Bombay: St. Paul Publications.
- Sabourin, L. 1982. *The History of the Hebrew Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sáenz-Badillo, A. 1993. *Jesus and Judaism*. Philadelphia: Fortress.
- Sarna, N. M. 1989. *Genesis*. The Jewish Publication Society Torah Commentary. Philadelphia, New York, Jerusalem: Jewish Publication Society.
- Sawyer, J. F. A. 1972. "Joshua 10:12–14 and the Solar Eclipse of 30 September 1131 B.C." *PEQ* 104: 139–146.
- Sawyer, J. F. A. 1981. "From Heaven Fought the Stars." *VT* 31: 87–89.
- Schloen, J. D. 1993. "Caravans, Kenites, and Casus Belli: Enmity and Alliance in the Song of Deborah." *CBQ* 55: 18–38.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Schneider, J. 1967. “σταυρός, σταυρώω, ἀνασταυρώω.” In *TDNT* 7: 572–584. Edited by Gerhard Kittel. Translated and edited by G. W. Bromiley. 10 Volumes. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Schneider, Gerhard. 1970–1971. “Das Bildwort der Lampe zur Traditionsgeschichte eines Jesus-Wortes.” *ZNW* 61–62: 183–209.
- Scholz, H. 1986. *Der Hund in der griechisch-romanischen Magie und Religion*. Berlin
- Schrenk, Gotlob. 1976. “ἱεράτευμα.” In *TDNT* 3: 221–283. Edited by Gerhard Kittel. Translated and edited by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. 10 volumes 1964–1976. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Schwab, M. 1969. *The Talmud of Jerusalem: Berakoth*. New York: Hermon Press.
- Schwarz, Gunther. 1972. “Matthäus vii 6a, Emendation und Rückübersetzung.” *NT* 14: 18–25.
- Schwarz, Gunther. 1981. “Αφες τοὺς νεκροὺς θάψαι τοὺς ἑαῦτῶν νεκρούς.” *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*. 72: 272–276.
- Scott, R. B. Y. 1965. *Proverbs Ecclesiastes: Introduction, Translation, and Notes*. AB 18. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Sellers, O. R. 1941. Paper read at the American Oriental Society. Cited by B. Evans, *Dictionary of Quotations*.
- Seters, John van. 1989. “The Creation of Man and the Creation of the King.” *ZAW* 101: 333–342.
- Shachter, Jacob and H. Freedman. 1935. *Sanhedrin. Translated into English with Notes, Glossary and Indices*. 2 volumes. London: Soncino Press.
- Simon, Johann, 1793. *Lexicon manuale hebraicum et chaldaicum: in quo omnium textus S. V. T. vocabulorum hebr. et chald. significatus secundum primitivorum et derivativorum ordinem explicantur, optima quaevis ex aliis lexicis scriptisque philologicis collecta exhibentur . . . variantes lectiones, quas kri et kethibh vocant, enodantur. . . .* Third edition. Io. Godofr. Eichorn, editor. Halle: Curtis Haered. (First edition 1771.)

- Simon, M. and I. Epstein, Editors. 1960. *The Babylonian Talmud: Berakoth*. London: Soncino Press.
- Singer, Isidore and Cyrus Adler, Editors. 1926. *The Jewish Encyclopedia*. New Edition. 12 volumes. New York and London: Funk & Wagnalls.
- Skinner, John. 1930. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis*. ICC. Second edition. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.
- Smart, J. 1965. *History and Theology of Second Isaiah*. Philadelphia: Westminster.
- Soden, W. von. 1965-1981. *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Soggin, Alberto. 1972. *Joshua A Commentary*. OTL. Philadelphia: Westminster.
- Sokoloff, Michael. 1992. *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic*.
- Sparks, H. F. D. 1984. *The Apocryphal Old Testament*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Speiser, Ephraim A. 1964. *Genesis: Introduction, Translation, and Notes*. AB 1. New York: Doubleday.
- Spencer, F. Scott. 1984. “2 Chronicles 28:5–15 and the Parable of the Good Samaritan.” *WTJ* 46: 317–349.
- Sperber, Alexander, editor. 1959–1973. *The Bible in Aramaic: Based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Texts*. Leiden : Brill.
- Spiro, Abram. 1967. “Appendix V.” In Johannes Munck’s *The Acts of the Apostles*. AB 32. Revised by W. F. Albright and C. S. Mann. Garden City: Doubleday.
- Stager L. E. 1986. “Archaeology, Ecology and Social History: Background Themes to the Song of Deborah,” in *Congress Volume: Papers read at the Congress of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament, Jerusalem, 1986*. Supplement to *Vetus Testamentum* 40. Edited by J. A. Emerton. Leiden: Brill.

- Steingass, F. 1892. *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary, Including the Arabic Words and Phrases to be met with in Persian Literature, being Johnson and Richardson's Persian, Arabic, and English dictionary revised, enlarged, and entirely reconstructed by F. Steingass.* London, K. Paul, Trench, Trubner. Second Impression 1930.
- Stenning, J. F. 1949. *The Targum of Isaiah.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Stephenson, F. R. 1975. "Astronomical Verification and Dating of Old Testament Passages Referring to Solar Eclipses." *PEQ* 107: 107–120.
- Stephenson, F. R. 1969. "The Dates of the Book of Joel." *VT* 19: 224–226.
- Strange, James F. Strange. 1992. "Dalmanutha." In *ABD* 2: 4. New York: Doubleday.
- Swidler, Arlene. 1978. "In Search of Huldah." *BibT* 98: 1780–1785.
- Thackeray, H. St. J. 1926. *Jewish Antiquities: Books V–VIII in Josephus: with an English translation.* Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Thomas, Winton. 1960. "Kelibh, 'Dog': Its Origin and Some Usages of it in the Old Testament." *VT* 10: 410–427.
- Thomson, Charles. 1808. *The Septuagint Bible: The Oldest Text of the Old Testament.* Edited, revised and enlarged by C. A. Muses. Second Edition 1960. Indian Hills, Colorado: The Falcon's Wing Press.
- Thompson, H. O. 1970. *Mekal: The God of Beth-Shan.* Leiden: Brill.
- Torrey, C. C. 1928. *The Second Isaiah.* New York: Scribners.
- Toy, C. H. 1899. *The Book of the prophet Ezekiel: Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text with Notes.* Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press; London: D. Nutt.

- Toy, C. H. 1916. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Proverbs*. New York: Scribners.
- Trafton, Joseph L. 1985. *The Syriac Version of the Psalms of Solomon: A Critical Evaluation*. Septuagint and Cognate Studies 11. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- Tregelles, Samuel Prideaux. 1875. *Gesenius's Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament Scriptures*. New York: John Wiley; London: Samuel Bagster.
- Turner, N. 1962. "Hasmoneans." In *IDB* 2: 529–535. George A. Buttrick, editor. Nashville: Abingdon.
- Turner, R. L. 1971. *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages: Phonetic Analysis* [by] R. L. Turner and D. R. Turner. London: Oxford University Press.
- Vang, Carsten. 1995. "Ps 2:1–12 A New Interpretation." *SJOT* 9: 163–184.
- Vermes, Geza. 1995. *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*. Fourth edition. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Vivano, Pauline, A. 1992. "Huldah." In *ABD* 3: 321. David Noel Freedman, editor. Garden City, NY: Doubleday. (CD-ROM Version, *sub* "Huldah")
- Walton, Brian. 1654–1657. *Biblia Polyglotta Complectentia Textus Originalis Hebraicos cum Pentat. Samarit: Chaldaicos Græcos Versioniuma Antiquarum Samarit. Chaldaic Lat Vulg. Æthiopic Græc. Sept. Striacæ Arabicæ Persicæ*. London.: Thomas Roycroft.
- Ward, Grant. 1996. *A Philological Analysis of the Greek and the Syriac Texts of the Psalms of Solomon*. Unpublished Dissertation: Temple University.
- Wehr, H. 1979. *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*. J. M. Cowan, editor. Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Westcott, B. F. 1881. *The Gospel according to St. John: The Authorised Version with Introduction and Notes*. Reprint 1978. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

- Westermann, Claus. 1966. *Das Buch Jesaja. Kapitel 40–66.* ATD19. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.
- Westermann, Claus. 1966. *Isaiah 40–66.* OTL. Philadelphia: Westminster.
- Wevers, J. W. 1974. *Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum. Volume 1: Genesis.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Whiston, William. 1738–1741. *The Works of Flavius Josephus.* 4 volumes. 1974 reprint. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House.
- Whitley, C. F. 1975. “Some Remarks on *lû* and *lo.*” *ZAW* 87: 202–204.
- Whybray, R. N. 1994. *Proverbs.* NCB. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Whybray, R. N. 1975. *Isaiah 40–66.* NCB. London: Oliphants.
- Wiarda, Timothy. 1992. “John 21.1-23: Narrative Unity and Its Implications.” *JSNT* 46: 53–71.
- Winton Thomas, D. 1957. “Some Observations on the Hebrew Root **לְמַעַן**.” *Supplements to Vetus Testamentum* 4: 8–16. Leiden: Brill.
- Wolfe, Hans Walter. 1974. *Hosea.* Hermeneia. Philadelphia: Fortress.
- Wolff, Hans Walter. 1977. *A Commentary on the Books of the Prophets Joel and Amos.* Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Wright, Robert. 1998. *The Psalms of Solomon: A Critical Edition of the Greek Text.* Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha. Supplement Series 20. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Wright, T. J. 1976. “Amos and the ‘Sycamore Fig.’” *VT* 26: 362–368.
- Wright, W. 1898. *A Grammar of the Arabic Language: Translated from the German of Casperi Edited by W. R. Smith and M. J. de Goeje.* 3rd ed. Reprinted 1962. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Yeager, Randolph O. 1977. *The Renaissance New Testament.* Volume II. Bowling Green, KY: Renaissance Press.
- Young, E. J. 1972. *The Book of Isaiah.* Volume 3. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Zeigler, J. 1939. *Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Societatis Litterarum Gottingensis editum.* Volume 14: *Isaias.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.
- Ziegler, J., ed. 1957. *Ieremias, Baruch, Threni, Epistula Ieremiae.* Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Societatis Litterarum Gottingensis Editum 15. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Zimmerli, Walther. 1979–1983. *Ezekiel. A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel.* Hermeneia. Volume I, Chapters 1–24. Volume II, Chapters 25–48. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Zolli, I. 1938. *Il Nazareno.* Udine.
- Zorell, A. 1956. *Lexicum Hebraicum et Aramaicum Veteris Testamenti.* Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute.
- Zuckerman, M. S. 1963. *Tosefta D'Mai* II: 20. In *Tosephtha.* Jerusalem: Wahrman Books.

I. INDEX OF AUTHORS AND LEXICA

Aberbach	8	Berthier	29
Abrahams	279, 296, 355	Bertholet	120
Ackroyd	230	Binns	388
Agnew	284	Black	84, 85, 92, 94, 100, 218, 250, 276, 296,
Aguirre	220		302, 309
Aland	254		
Albright	274, 291, 295, 300, 303, 310	Block	192
Alexander	5, 358, 393–396, 399, 400	Blommerde	71, 96
Allegro	399	Bockmuehl	298
Allen, R. B.	63	Boling	76, 81, 94, 96
Allen, W. C.	297	Box	357
Andersen	226, 230	Braude	278
Anderson	28, 223	Braverman	274
Arndt	249, 250, 284, 315, 361	Breasted	113
Ashley	58	Brenz	309
Avery-Peck	278, 282	Bright	75, 83, 95, 170– 172, 241
Bardenhewer	349	Brooke	119
Barr	10, 122, 146	Brown	71, 77, 181, 332, 360, 365
Barton	139	Brown-Gutoff	181
Bassar	297	Bruce	274
BDB	14, 19, 23, 33, 37, 41, 43, 47, 62, 63, 71, 74, 77, 79, 82, 83, 102, 106, 110, 113, 116, 117, 123, 128, 130, 131, 133–135, 137, 140, 144, 152, 157, 161, 168, 174, 178, 183 – 188, 190, 191, 195, 197, 203, 205, 215–217, 220, 224, 226, 228, 229, 233, 252, 253, 282, 285, 286, 291, 300, 312–314, 324, 325, 331, 336, 339, 346, 354– 357, 372, 373, 384, 388, 391, 395, 399	Buchanan	301, 302
Beare	239, 275	Bultmann	275
Bell	114, 246	Burney	282
Berliner	8	Burrows	284
Bernard	359, 360, 369	Calderone	70
Berrin	399	Carroll	151, 152, 158, 170, 171, 183
		Cary	386
		Castell	23, 30, 33, 34, 39, 49, 66, 67, 71, 85, 162, 163, 181, 186, 189, 219, 289, 293, 294, 313, 322, 343
		Charles	37, 55, 219, 281
		Charlier	29
		Childs	36, 37, 43, 44
		Clarke	8, 55
		Conder	86
		Conrad	115
		Cooke	191, 192, 194
		Cowley	283

INDICES

439

Craddock	321	Gelston	374
Craigie	10	Gevaryahu	55, 118, 297, 349, 350
Crum	250, 331	Gingrich	249, 250, 284, 315, 361
Curtis	99, 105, 109, 111, 113, 115, 281	Ginsburg	143, 144, 146
Dahood	96, 120, 136, 203, 230, 237, 277, 282, 284, 398	Ginzberg	56, 74, 75, 98, 274, 278, 280, 284, 349
Dalman	280, 290	Gnilka	274
Davies	239, 246, 282, 290, 291, 300–302, 330–332	Godet	320
Delitzsch	33, 34, 103, 113, 135, 136, 157, 167, 213–215, 234, 251, 381	Godley	94
Derrett	298	Goetze	386
Dillman	329	Goldenberg	297
Donner	110	Goldschmidt	49, 331, 349, 353, 357, 358
Doudna	393	Gordon	184, 214, 233, 236, 278, 322
Dozy	184, 196, 201	Goulder	278
Driver, G. R.	71, 230	Gray, G. B.	58, 61, 63
Driver, S. R.	64	Gray, J.	99
Edleman	282	Green	6, 320
Eichrodt	191	Grintz	276
Epstein, A.	274	Grossfeld	8
Epstein, I.	10, 274, 279, 280, 323, 330	Guillaumont	250, 275, 331, 355
Espenak	220	Gundry	250
Evans	59, 371	Habel	212
Ewald	398	Harper	227
Firmage	278	Harrington	72, 279
Fitzmyer	276, 279	Harris	276
Franklyn	126, 127, 129, 130	Hatch	119, 229, 310, 321, 330, 369, 383, 401
Freedman, D. N.	28, 65, 68, 70, 71, 223, 226, 230, 353, 357, 358, 382, 387	Hava	22, 56, 118, 167, 180, 183, 194, 251, 335, 350, 351, 354, 355, 383, 398
Freedman, H.	279, 282, 339, 353, 357, 358	Heller	93
Gardiner	289, 336, 349, 351	Henderson	279
Gaster	38, 94	Hewitt	298, 311
Gelb	278	Hill	48–50, 54–56, 249, 314, 386
Geldenhuys	321	Hillers	8
		Holladay, J. S.	82, 94
		Holladay, W.	151, 153, 154, 158, 166, 170, 171, 183

Howard, G.	30, 78, 240, 249, 275, 277, 285, 288, 289, 295, 296, 298, 311, 324, 330, 331, 349	Lane	5, 6, 11, 13, 16, 19, 21–23 28–30, 32, 33, 40–42, 49, 50, 54–56, 60, 61, 67, 68 70, 71, 73–76, 79, 83–85, 88, 94–96, 100, 102–104, 107–112, 114, 115, 118, 121, 122, 126–132, 136,
Huehnergard	96, 136, 203, 230		
Hurst	277		
Hyatt	37		
Jacob	38, 166, 176, 237, 262		
James	72, 73, 316, 356, 381		
Jastrow	12, 21, 29, 30, 48, 49, 54, 55, 60, 72, 95, 104, 122, 124, 131, 146, 155, 163, 188, 201–203, 215, 227, 242, 251, 280, 282– 284, 311, 312, 314, 322, 323, 329, 337–339, 343, 344, 350–352, 357, 369, 371, 389, 395–397		
Jeremias	253, 276, 282, 290		
Jones	151, 170		
Jung	48, 49		
Kapstein	278	Leaney	285
KBS	57, 85, 110, 111, 129, 133, 135, 150, 159, 163, 185, 186, 189, 193, 201–203, 237, 289, 313, 322, 323, 332, 355, 371, 387, 393, 398, 400	Levine	47, 52
Kee	281	Lewis	66, 343
Keener	291, 297, 302	Liddell	47, 87, 103, 116, 119, 124, 161, 162, 188, 249– 251, 278, 312, 315, 330, 331, 333, 361, 374, 397
Kennicott	61, 72, 127, 135, 152, 173, 178	Lightfoot	354, 355
Kingsbury	290, 291, 297	Lindenberger	283
Kirzner	280	Loewenstamm	397
Klausner	29	Lucanus	380
Klein	312	Luz	299–301, 310
Klemm	290	Maas	349, 350
Koehler	77	Macho	8, 45, 279
Köhler	297	Mann	246, 274, 291, 295, 300, 303, 310
Kopf	237	Manson	297
Krause	274, 285, 286	Marenof	233, 237
Lachs	268, 274, 283	Margalit	95
		Margalith	278
		Margulis	212
		Marsh	360, 387

INDICES

441

Marshall	250, 320, 321	Rad, von	3, 10, 19, 31, 64, 261
Martínez	399	Rainey	8
McCarter	119	Redpath	119, 229, 310, 321,
McKane	125, 128, 129, 151, 152		330, 369, 383, 401
McKenzie	212	Richardson	96, 136, 203, 224,
McLean	119		225, 230
Mead	356	Ridderbos	5
Mendenhall	280	Ridley	386
Meyers	232, 233, 235	Ringgren	30
Michel	275, 277, 279, 320	Robertson	278
Milgrom	52, 63	Robinson	275, 356
Millard	33	Rogers	59, 62, 63
Montgomery	99	Röllig	110
Moscati	61, 181, 280	Ross	335, 349, 350
Moule	360	Rudolph	161, 171, 183, 184
Muller	212	Ruiten	2, 8, 9
Murphy	144, 149, 150	Sabourin	275
Myers	99, 109, 113, 281	Sáenz-Badillos	10
Naber	79, 111, 113, 114, 352 , 358, 386, 399, 401	Saldarini	72
Nelson	93	Sanders	297
Neusner	281	Sarna	3
Noth	47, 58, 70	Sawyer	86, 95
Nussbaum	278	Schloen	66, 70
Olson	58	Schneider, G.	327, 332
Parrot	285	Scholz	278
Paul	278	Schrenk	180
Payne Smith, J.	42, 84, 201, 203, 213, 241, 251, 282, 284, 311, 312, 315, 322, 340	Schwab	274
Payne Smith, R.	84, 241, 282	Schwarz	253, 276, 290
Perles	253, 268, 276, 283, 296	Scott, R.	47, 87, 103, 116, 119, 124, 161, 162, 188, 249–251, 278, 312, 315, 330, 331, 333, 361, 374, 397
Perrin	386, 387	Scott, R. B. Y.	128, 130, 132, 137–141, 251
Petersen, D.	237	Sellers	59
Petersen, W.	314–315	Seters	212
Phipps	98	Shachter	357, 358
Plummer	309, 320	Simon, J.	289, 293, 313, 359, 366, 368, 369, 397, 398
Pope	143, 144, 146–150, 201, 280, 333, 371	Simon, I.	274, 279, 282
Pritchard	278	Skinner	3, 9, 19, 33, 35
Propp	37, 44	Smart	4, 78
Quinn	77		
Rabinowitz, I.	349		

Soden, von	350	122, 124, 127, 128, 130–
Soggin	82, 93, 95, 96	132, 136, 140, 142, 148,
Sokoloff	55	150, 155, 156, 174, 176,
Sparks	281	185, 186, 194, 196, 201,
Speiser	3, 19, 20, 25, 28, 32, 33, 35	203, 218, 222–224, 226, 230, 231, 235, 251, 294,
Spencer	110	308, 312–315, 323, 335,
Sperber	72, 73, 215	341, 350, 351, 354, 355, 358, 370, 383, 387
Spiro	274	
Steingass	118	Westcott 360
Stenning	8	Westermann 4
Stephenson	86, 95, 97, 220	Wevers 8
Strange	230, 353	Whiston 113, 114, 352, 358, 386, 395, 397, 399, 401
Swidler	98	
Thackeray	79	Whitley 96, 136, 203, 230
Thomas	67, 68, 70, 71, 244– 246, 248, 253, 266, 278, 331, 341, 355	Whybray 4, 126
Thompson	63, 278	Winton 67, 68, 70, 71
Thomson	152	Wise 118
Torrey	4	Wolff 216, 217, 223, 225, 226, 229, 230, 369
Toy	95, 127, 135, 192	Wright, R. 385
Trafton	381, 385	Wright, T. J. . 227
Tregelles	183, 398	Wright, W. . 351
Turner, N.	399	Yeager 298
Turner, R. L. .	118	Yehuda 237
Vermes	399	Young 4, 5, 369
Walton	219	Zeigler 8
Ward	381, 389	Zimmerli 189, 192, 194, 196, 208
Wehr	16, 28, 40, 41, 60, 61, 66, 68, 71, 85, 94, 100, 103, 107, 118, 121,	Zolli 276
		Zorell 237, 336
		Zuckerman 277

II. INDEX OF BIBLICAL NAMES

Aaron	59–63, 334, 337, 346, 351, 397	Eden	14, 139, 207–209, 211–213
Achbor	98	Egypt	18, 24, 37, 42, 45, 93, 344, 357, 375–378, 381,
Agur	43, 57, 125–129, 133, 134		382, 385, 387, 388, 391
Ahaz	106, 114	Egyptians	37, 349, 377
Ahikam	98	Eliakim	108
Aijalon	81, 88, 92, 218	Eliezer	43, 344
Alphaeus	313	Elisha	257
Amasa	107–110, 112	Elkanah	106, 114
Amitti	294	Ephah	232, 233, 235, 237
Ammitai	39	Ephraim	169, 170, 369
Amorites	87, 88, 90	Ephraimites	107, 111, 113
Amos	95, 165, 221, 223–230	Esther	73
Annas	357	Ezekiel	29, 175, 187, 188, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 196,
Aqaba	388		207–209, 211, 212, 213
Arabia	43, 128, 400	Gadarene	264
Arabians	396	Gershom	43, 337
Asahiah	98	Ghadaghedh	388
Asmodeus	257	Gibeon	81–83, 87–92, 94, 218
Assyria	18, 24	Giddade	388
Azariah	107–110, 112	Gidgad	383
Azazel	47–49, 51–53, 55–57	Gilead	400
Azekah	87, 89	Gilgal	82, 87–90
Azmaveth	51	Golgotha	345
Azrikam	106	Hagar	19, 21, 26, 27, 34
Babylon	237, 357	Haras	101
Bathshua	262	Hazael	257
Benjamin	25, 111, 114	Heshbon	82
Berechiah	108–112	Hilkiah	98, 102
Beth Horon	87, 89	Hittite	113
Bethany	69, 333	Horhaggidgad	383
Bethlehem	239–242, 357	Hosea	80
Caiaphas	357	Huldah	75, 98–101, 103–105, 115
Cushite	42	Immanuel	106
Dalmanutha	346, 353	Isaiah	2, 4, 7, 8, 9, 106, 204, 206
Dan	43, 130, 155, 214, 291, 351, 393, 395, 396, 400	Ishmael	18, 19, 21, 22, 24–27, 30
Daniel	136, 209, 280	Ithiel	57, 125, 129
Danites	43	Jacob	38, 166, 176, 237, 262
Deborah	43, 70, 95, 99, 183, 228	Jakeh	57, 125, 129

- Jehizkiah 108–110, 112
 Jeremiah 29, 99, 101, 115, 151,
 156, 158, 166, 170,
 172, 175, 178, 236
 Jericho 72, 75, 77, 78, 82, 109
 Jerusalem 8, 43, 76, 77, 101,
 103, 104, 107, 115, 125, 190,
 191, 195, 223, 239, 274, 278,
 280–282, 338, 339, 345, 362,
 375, 376, 393, 395, 397, 399
 Jesus 29, 69, 77, 246, 249,
 252, 259, 264, 265, 270,
 275–277, 285, 290–292, 295
 297, 299–302, 304, 305, 309,
 312, 318–321, 324–329, 331–
 333, 337, 341–345, 347, 348,
 355–357, 359, 360, 363–369
 Joel 219, 220
 John 332, 359, 360, 363,
 366, 367, 368, 369, 397
 John the Baptist 29, 69, 302, 304
 Jonathan 1, 43, 47, 72–74, 76,
 78, 298, 372, 397
 Joseph 25, 77, 257, 344, 357
 Joshua 75, 77, 82, 84, 87–91,
 93, 96, 97, 206
 Josiah 98, 99, 102, 115
 Judah 73, 76, 95, 106,
 107, 111, 114, 223, 235–
 237, 264, 281, 282, 343,
 368, 391, 398
 Judas 392
 Kenite 43
 Korah 164
 Leviathan 373
 Luke 246, 300, 303, 305, 307,
 309, 319, 320, 326, 331, 348
 Lydda 343–345, 357
 Maaseiah 106
 Magadan 346, 353
 Magdala 338–340, 342, 344,
 345, 347, 348, 353–355
 Magdalene 333, 334, 337–342,
 345, 347–349, 354, 355
 Makkedah 89
 Maria 334, 338, 345,
 347, 349, 352
 Mariamme 352
 Marion 352
 Mark 246, 353
 Martha 335, 337, 347
 Mary 326, 333–335, 337
 342, 345, 347–350,
 352, 355–357
 Mary Magdalene 333, 337, 339,
 341, 342, 345, 347–349
 Mary of Bethany 333
 Massa 43, 125, 133
 Mastema 37, 43
 Mattathias 392, 397
 Matthew 39, 45, 77, 78,
 239, 243, 246, 248, 250,
 268, 273, 277, 331
 Matthew (Hebrew Gospel of) 29,
 78, 239, 240, 242, 244, 248,
 252, 253, 267, 268, 277, 279,
 293, 324, 330, 331, 349
 Mesha 222, 223, 228, 229
 Meshech 151, 154, 155
 Micaiah ben Imlah 225
 Midianite 37, 40, 42
 Migdol 338, 339, 354
 Milcom 337
 Miriam 60–63, 334–338, 340,
 343–345, 347, 349–352
 Moab 222, 228, 229, 400
 Moriah 346, 351
 Moses 36–38, 40, 42–44, 58–63,
 164, 219, 294, 301, 334, 337
 Nahum 101
 Noah 111
 Oded 106–115
 Pekah 106
 Peniel 285

INDICES

445

Penuel	285	Sidon	86
Peter	285, 286, 341, 355, 359, 360, 363, 365–369, 371	Sinai	37, 80
Pharaoh	370	Sisera	95
Pharisees	30, 325, 394, 395	Susa	261
Philistines	258	Tekoa	221, 223, 224, 227
Phinehas	392	Tiberias	264, 338, 339, 347, 349, 353
Pilate	273, 356, 357	Tiqwah	101
Qoheleth	137, 139–141	Tobias	257
Rabshakeh	108	Tobit	256
Rachel	168	Tyre	205, 207–214, 375
Rahab	72–79	Ucal	57, 125, 129
Ramah	168, 169	Yahweh	37, 40, 41, 44, 52, 69, 87–91, 96, 99, 107, 109, 121– 124, 158, 160, 174–176, 185,
Raphael	256	188, 205–207, 209, 210, 225, 231–233, 236, 255, 256, 294,	
Rezin	106	319, 336, 342, 346, 351, 361, 362, 365, 368, 369, 401	
Romans	252, 273, 274, 316, 317, 375	Zadokites	396
Sadducees	396	Zechariah	114, 232, 237
Salu	392	Zephaniah	99, 101
Samaritan	106, 107, 109, 110, 112, 274	Zerubabel	206
Sarah	34, 73, 257	Zichri	106
Satan	37, 57	Zimri	392
Shallum	101, 102	Zion	387
Shaphan	98	Zipporah	36–46, 294
Shephelah	227		
Shiloh	43		
Shinar	235–237		

III. INDEX OF OTHER NAMES

Achaeans	82	Aquila	119, 120, 161, 182, 227, 371
Achillas	377–379, 382, 386	Arcturus	95
Aelia Capitolina	274	Aristophanes	348
Agamemnon	82	Bar-Bahlul	340
Ahiqar	283	Battle of Kadesh	113
Alba	384, 386	Ben Pandira	343, 345
Alcuin	335	Ben Satda ^c	343
Alexander Jannaeus	393	Betar	274
Alexandria	239, 360	Bědítâ ^c	357
Alexandrinus	96	Caesar	377, 386
Antares	95		

Cassius	376, 377,	Irenes	387
	380, 381, 384, 386	Isidore of Seville	335
Celsus	356	Jebel el-Aqra ^c	386
Chrysostom	239, 360	Jerome	120, 335
Clement of Alexandria	239	Josephus	73, 74, 77, 78, 108, 111, 113, 114, 246, 273, 352, 358, 375, 393, 395–397, 399
Cleopatra	376	Kabul	339
Codex Curetonianus	314, 315	Lachish Letter II	257, 279
Codex Sinaiticus	314, 315	Lithargoel	285, 286
Codex Vaticanus	133	London Polyglot	85, 218
Codex Venetus	125	Lucan	378
Cordus	379, 384	Lucianic	76, 161, 388
Cornelia	378, 386	Lucius Septimus	377
Cybele	256	Maccabeus	392
Cyril of Alexandria	360	Magnus	379, 380, 398
Demetrius Eucerus	395	Mars	274
Diatessaron	314	Migdal Nunia	353
Didache	273	Migdol Nûnîya	338, 354
Dio Cassius	376, 380, 384, 386	Mishnah	105, 124
Diocletian	264	Mišneh	101
Diospolis	345	Mot	51, 52
Dûdâël	55	Mount Hassi	386
El Hofra	29	Mount Casius	377, 386
El-Meydánee	343	Mount Ṣapanu	386
Erasmus	360	Nag Hammadi	285, 356
Essene	273	Notre Dame	338
Even Bohan	252	Onkelos	1, 54, 56
Execution Texts	33	Origen	356
Gospel of Mary	341, 356	Orontes	386
Gospel of Nicodemus	356	Padira	344, 357, 358
Gospel of Phillip	341	Pan	256
Gospel of Thomas	244–246, 248, 253, 266, 331, 341, 355	Pandira	343–346, 357, 358
Gregory the Great	333	Pantîra	344, 346, 358
Grotius	360	Panthera	356, 358
Hadrian	274	Pappos	343, 345, 346
Halakah	262, 264, 265, 272, 273	Pelusium	376, 380, 381, 386
Hasmonean	391, 393, 396	Peshîṭta	298, 314, 372, 374
Hebrew Gospel	29, 78, 240, 244, 277, 293, 324, 330, 349	Pharaoh	370
Hyrcanus	375, 394, 395	Pharaiān	379
Hyrcanus II	375	Philip	356, 378, 384, 387
Ibn Ezra	38	Phoenician	28, 110, 207, 257, 333
Ibn Shaprut	249, 293, 294, 296	Plutarch	377, 380, 382, 384, 386

Pompey	375–378, 380–382, 384–387, 393	Shihūn	339
Potheinus	382	Šiħin	346
Pseudo-Jonathan	1	Sirbonis	387
Ptolemy III	376	Spica	95
Pumbaditha	343	Stella Maris	335
“Q” Source	246	Stilla Maris	335
Rabbi Akiba	258	Symmachus	119, 120, 161, 196
Rabbi Eliezer	344	Syro-Ephramite	106
Rabbi H. isda	343, 345	Syro-Hexapla	193
Rabbi Joshua ben Levi	278	Syro-Phoenician	257, 333
Rabbi Meir	278	Syrtes	379
Rabbi Yannai	258	Tannit	28, 29
Rashi	117	Targum Jonathan	1, 72–74, 76, 78, 298, 372
Rhabanus Maurus	335	Targum Neophyti	45, 257
Sabačim	346	Targum Yerushalmi	353
Siħħah of El-Jowharee	353	Tarichea	338, 339, 354
Salvius	378	Tel er-Rām	48
Saṭda ^c / Stada ^c	343	Theodotian	196, 215, 227, 229
Septimius	377–379	Theodotus	382
Shem Tob	29, 78, 240, 242, 244–246, 248, 249, 253, 260, 266–270, 275, 277, 280, 281, 283–285, 293, 294, 296, 303, 304, 308, 324, 330, 331, 349	Typho	387
		Ugarit	233, 386
		Vaticanus	4, 87, 133
		Vega	95
		Venus	95
		Zeus	82

IV. INDEX OF GRAMMATICAL TERMS

acronym	113	⁹ <i>Ittaphal</i>	250
⁹ <i>addād</i> phenomena	121	dialect	43, 133, 134, 181, 297
alliteration	253, 254, 260, 277	dialectal	43, 125, 331
anaptyptic	29	diminutive	279, 282
aphorism	252, 253, 265, 278, 332	dittography	113, 132, 140, 141, 162, 188, 213, 289
asseverative	97, 230	double duty	70, 128, 197
by-form	23, 31, 50, 54, 60, 66, 73–76, 78, 85, 92, 131, 164, 251, 328, 329, 346, 371	<i>double entendre</i>	22, 27, 76, 166, 172, 173, 178, 181, 235–237, 286, 306
<i>casus obliquus</i>	214	emendation	120, 130, 150, 156, 166, 167, 169, 371
<i>casus pendens</i>	4		
circumlocution	236, 237, 315		

emphatic נ	96, 130, 134, 136, 150, 203, 230, 332	Niph ^c al	66, 86
emphatic נ	71	parallelism	8, 146, 214, 252, 253, 329
gentilic נ	128	Pě ^c al	12
hapax legomenon	60, 246	plural of intensity	142, 148, 150, 386, 387
Hiph'īl	28, 39, 128, 136, 186, 298, 311	Pōlēl	111
hireq compaginis	228	pseudo-correction	128, 138
Hithpolel	371	qaṭṭal	259, 280
homograph	50, 78, 91, 96, 109, 261, 385	qaṭṭil	61
homophone	50, 96	Qal	12, 16, 111, 129, 131, 147, 163–165, 194, 226
honorific plural	136	Qere	59, 63, 103, 234, 247
Hoph'āl	59, 60, 130, 164	qīl	370
ialect	134	qūl	142
Kethib	61, 70, 103, 152, 154, 234, 247, 285	scriptio defectiva	39, 43, 72, 73, 128, 155, 162, 168, 176, 178, 211, 263, 271, 387
lectio difficilior	189	scriptio plene	39, 136, 147, 148, 154, 155
loanword	72, 73, 94, 116, 118, 124, 249, 261, 281, 291, 312, 343, 346, 347, 353, 358	Semitism	300, 310
locative נ	52	transliteration	147, 161, 222, 229, 232, 383, 385, 388, 396
mater lectionis	63	vocative נ	130
metaphor	3, 146, 256, 265, 270, 278, 282, 286, 331, 365	yqtl-qtl sequence	147
metonymy	203, 302, 311		

V. INDEX OF ROOTS AND WORDS CITED

AKKADIAN, SUMERIAN, HURRIAN

Abam-rāmā	35	izuzzum	94
Ha(-as)sí	386	ka-al-bu	257, 278
Ha(-az)zí	386	kasū	193
hanziru	281	lullū-awēlu	20
hašmanu(m)	398	mutu	289
haziru	281	rīmu / rīmūtu	335, 350
hazzi/hassi	387	šahū	281
da'ā mu	85, 92, 219	šitqulu	94
e-gal	233	ḥumsiru	281
e-pa	233	zenū	79
eperu	1	zinūtu	79

ARABIC

أبد (<i>abad</i>)	55	ال (<i>'âl / 'ill</i>)	361
آبدة (<i>'â bida</i>)	201	إيلة (<i>'îlat</i>)	361
آخر (<i>aṭara</i>)	184	الليل (<i>'alîl</i>)	167
اجر (<i>ajara</i>)	126	الله (<i>'Allâh</i>)	184
احماء (<i>aḥmâ'</i>)	42	الله اكابر (<i>'Allâh 'akbar</i>)	176, 182
أخيان (<i>aḥtân</i>)	42	ولي (<i>'ulay</i>)	167
أدم (<i>adama</i>)	23	الله (<i>'aliha</i>)	167, 168
أدمة (<i>adamat</i>)	23	أمرؤ / مرع (<i>mar⁹ / 'imraw⁹</i>)	337
أدام (<i>idâm</i>)	23	أمرع (<i>'amra⁹'a</i>)	337, 347, 351
إذ (<i>iḍ</i>)	88, 91	امرأة (<i>'imrât</i>)	337, 347, 351
أريض (<i>arîd</i>)	161	منير (<i>ma⁹îr</i>)	350
أرض (<i>arâda</i>)	29	أنف (<i>'anf</i>)	392, 397, 398
أرض (<i>ard</i>)	161	أهل (<i>'ahl</i>)	370
ازل (<i>azil</i>)	49	الا / الو (<i>'Iw / 'alâ</i>)	169
ازل (<i>azala</i>)	49, 55	آية (<i>'ayat</i>)	203
ازل (<i>izl</i>)	49	ليس (<i>'ayisa</i>)	60, 71, 131
مازل (<i>mâ⁹zil</i>)	49	إياس (<i>'iyâs</i>)	60, 71, 131
أستاذ (<i>ustâd</i>)	343, 344, 347, 358	بجدة (<i>bajdat / bujudat</i>)	102, 104
أسامة (<i>usâma</i>)	398	بت (<i>batt</i>)	165
أشر (<i>ašir</i>)	138	بتل (<i>batala</i>)	163, 165, 175
اصل (<i>asîl</i>)	102	بد (<i>badd</i>)	165
أصحاب (<i>aṣhâr</i>)	42	بر (<i>bîr / barr</i>)	122
افرة (<i>afurrat</i>)	29	برا (<i>bara⁹</i>)	21, 214
اقتابه (<i>aqtâbahu</i>)	115	برى (<i>bâriy</i>)	122
أكسية (<i>aksiyat</i>)	193	برىء (<i>barî⁹</i>)	214
اكام (<i>akâm</i>)	51	برح (<i>barh</i>)	201
اكمة (<i>akamat</i>)	50, 56	باطل (<i>bâtil</i>)	50, 56
الف (<i>ilf</i>)	107, 140	بغضاء (<i>baḡdâ⁹</i>)	394
ألوف (<i>ulûf</i>)	114	بقر (<i>baqara</i>)	226
مالف (<i>mâ⁹lâf</i>)	140	بقار (<i>baqqâr</i>)	226
مالوف (<i>mâ⁹lûf</i>)	140		

بلس (<i>balas</i>)	227	جلد (<i>jildun / jalada</i>)	201
ترفة (<i>turfat</i>)	283	جلال (<i>jalâl</i>)	121
تصور (<i>taṣawur</i>)	212	جم (<i>jam</i>)	170, 177, 181
تقى (<i>taqî</i>)	127	جمال (<i>jammâl</i>)	280
تل (<i>tel</i>)	56	جاهد (<i>jâhid</i>)	301
تلأ / تلو (<i>tilw / talâ</i>)	327	جهاد (<i>jihâd</i>)	301
تلاءُ (<i>talâ'</i>)	327	جهد جاهد (<i>jahd jâhid</i>)	311
اتلى (<i>'atlay</i>)	327	جور (<i>jaur</i>)	155, 156
تمر (<i>tamr</i>)	183	جن (<i>ğinn</i>)	3
جبر (<i>jabara</i>)	128, 133, 182	حدر (<i>hadara</i>)	55
جار (<i>jabbâr</i>)	182	حيدرة (<i>haydarat</i>)	55
الجبار (<i>aljabbâr</i>)	176	حدور (<i>hadûr</i>)	55
جبل (<i>jabal</i>)	388	حدل (<i>hadala</i>)	66, 68
جد (<i>jad</i>)	397	حرب (<i>harb</i>)	310, 311
جد (<i>judd</i>)	388	حشمة/حشم (<i>hašima / hišmat</i>)	392
جدة (<i>juddat</i>)	388	حشيم/حاشم (<i>hâšim / hašîm</i>)	398
جدد (<i>jadd</i>)	388	حشيم (<i>hašîm</i>)	391
تجدد (<i>jadjad</i>)	388	حشيم (<i>hašîm</i>)	391
جدل (<i>jadâl</i>)	341	خشام (<i>ḥušām</i>)	392, 398
جادل (<i>jâdal</i>)	401	حلف (<i>ḥalaf</i>)	313
جدال (<i>jidâl</i>)	341, 342	حلف (<i>ḥalif</i>)	314
مجادلة (<i>mujâdalat</i>)	341, 342	حلفي (<i>halfî</i>)	314
جدل (<i>jadala</i>)	340, 355	حلاقة (<i>ḥâliqat</i>)	356, 394, 401
مجدل (<i>mejdel</i>)	338, 347	حلق (<i>ḥalaqa</i>)	400
مجدول (<i>majdûl</i>)	340	حمق (<i>ḥamiqa</i>)	185
مجدولة (<i>majdûlat</i>)	340	حمق (<i>ḥumaq</i>)	172
جزل (<i>jadala</i>)	340	حن (<i>ḥann</i>)	166
جزل/جذلان (<i>jadlân / jadil</i>)	341	حنان (<i>ḥannân</i>)	167
جزل (<i>jazala</i>)	354	حنين (<i>ḥanîn</i>)	167
جار (<i>jâra</i>)	155	مستحن (<i>mustâḥan</i>)	167
جول (<i>jûl</i>)	121	حوط (<i>ḥawîṭ / ḥayyîṭ</i>)	30
جل (<i>jalla</i>)	121	حام / حوم (<i>ḥûm / ḥâma</i>)	188

حوم (hûm)	189	دھم (dahama)	84, 218
خین (hâtana)	42	دھم (duhmu)	85
خش (hâṭîm)	392, 398	دھمة (duhmat)	85, 218
دخل (hadala)	66	دھیم (duhaimu)	85, 218
دخل (hadl)	66, 68	دھمان (dahmânu)	85, 218
خذل (hadala)	67, 68, 69	أدھم (^adhamu)	85, 218
خذلت (hadalat)	71	الدھم (^adduhmu)	85, 218
خار (hâra)	382	دوم (dûm)	83, 94
خرب (harib)	310, 311	دام / دوم (dûm / dâma)	83, 84
خرز (haraz)	280	دوامة (duwwâmat)	95
خشام (husâm)	392, 398	دوشة (duwaybbat)	5, 6
خطم (hitam)	392, 397	ذكر (dakara)	355
خطم (hatm)	397	ذن (danna)	153, 157
خطم (hâṭim)	397	ذنّا (dannâ'u)	157
خلد (hald / huld / hild)	100	ذنانی (dunânay)	153
خلد (halada)	100	ذنين (dinîn)	153
خلد (halada) ”	100	ذهب (dahin)	75, 78
حالد (hâlid)	100, 104	ذاد / ذود (dûd / dâd)	55
خلد (halad)	100	رام (râm)	32, 337
خلف (hilâf)	307	رجل (rigl)	268
خلق (halaqa)	400	رد (radda)	111
خور (hawr)	382, 387, 388	ريحة (rihat)	145
دابة (dâbbat)	5	رعد (ra'ada)	121
در (durr)	260	رغد (ragâda)	121
درات (durrât)	260	رغد (ragd)	121
درة (durrat)	260	رسخ (rasâga)	236
درر (durar)	260, 280	رسينغ (rasîg)	236
دق (daq)	155	رفا (rafâ)	41
دك (dak)	155	رفورفا (rafâ / rafû)	41
دمى (damî)	84, 85	رفاء (rifâ'un)	41
مدمى (mudammîy)	84, 85	رهام (ruhâm)	33
دھر (dahr)	31, 180, 217	رهوم (rahûm)	34

رهمة (rihmat)	34	شتاء (šitā ^۹)	181
روق (ruq)	145, 147, 149	شدو (šadw/šadā)	140
راق / ريق (rīq / rāqa)	145, 149	شري (šaraya)	184
ريم (raym)	33	شم (šamma)	145, 146
زل (zil)	56	شنا (šana ^۹ a)	322
زل (zul)	56	شنا (šana ^۹ a)	323
زنا (zanā ^۹)	74, 75, 78	شنيع (šani ^۹ a)	323
زيته (zinat)"	73, 78	شنيع (šuni ^۹ a)	322
زناني (zunānay)	153	صبغ (ṣabḡ)	346, 354
زنوي (zanaya)	72	صبغة (ṣibḡat)	346, 354
زهر (zâhir)	75	صد (ṣadd)	203
зор (zûr)	76	صد (ṣadda)	195, 201
زون (zûn)	76, 156, 354	صلدید (sadîd)	195, 201
زوجة (ziwannat)	74	صلدق (ṣadiq)	396
زير (zîr)	247, 251	صرراء (ṣahrâ ^۹)	388
سخط (saḥat)	284	صحناء (ṣiḥnâ ^۹)	346, 354
سفيج (safîh)	193	صعلدة (ṣa ^c data)	28
سكت (sakata)	283	صغر (ṣagîr)	371
سكن (sakana)	28	صفو (ṣafwun)	387
سومة / سيمة (sîmat/sûmat)	109	صفوان (ṣafwân)	387
سمن (siman)	145	صها (suhâ)	180
سمو (sumû)	132, 133	صهوات (ṣahawât)	180
سن (sanna)	103, 104	صهوي (ṣuhay)	177, 180
سنوا (sanaw)	323, 324	صاهي (ṣâhây)	180
سنوي (sanay/sanaw)	322, 323	صهويون (ṣahyûn)	180
سور (sûr)	115	صور (ṣawr)	212
سيل (sayl)	183	صوان (ṣawwân)	180
مسيل (masîl)	183	صبور (ṣayyûr)	212
شامة (šâ ^۹ mat)	146	ضآن / ضائن (dâ ^c in / dâ ^c n)	371
شعب (šabba)	174	طاب (ṭâba)	145
شبه (šabah)	173	طرب (ṭariba)	74, 78
شبة (šabaha)	173	طرف (tarf)	267

طرف (tarafa)	267	عني ('aniya)	61, 62
طريق (tarij)	283	عود ('awd)	110, 111
طلي (talîy)	371–372	عون ('awn)	235, 237
ظن (zannun)	80	معوان (mu ^c âwana)	238
ظنون (zânûn)	75, 78, 79	معونة (ma ^c ûna)	238
ظبية (zahîrat)	75	عيدان ('aydân)	212
ظهارية (zuhâriyat)	350	عوف / عيف ('yf / ^c wf)	251
عائد (â'id)	112	غفر (gfr)	5, 7
عائدة (â'îdat)	112	غفر (gafar)	6, 7
عات (â'tî)	50	غفر (gafara)	234
عاتي (itîy)	50	غفر (gufr)	5
عجب (ajiba)	182	غفيرة (gufirat)	234
عجب (ujib)	182	مخافر / مغافير (miğfir / mağâfir)	11
عدان (adân)	212	غلام (gûlm)	144
عدى / عدو (adûw / iday)	396	غلام (gûlâm)	145
عدى (iday)	184	غمد (gamada)	84, 91, 241, 242
عادى (âdiy)	110	محمدان (muğmidânu)	94
عرض (araða)	29	غنج (gûnj)	142
عزل (azala)	50, 54	غنى (ganiya)	61
عزاز (azâz)	51	غنى (ganniya)	61
عزلة (uzlat)	54	فجر (fajr)	94
غفر (afar)	5, 7, 234	فحذ (fahîd)	195, 202
غفر (ipir)	11	فدر (fadîr)	344, 346
غفرة (afurrat)	29	فرأ (sara ²)	19
عقل (aql)	172	فرج (faraja)	196
على (alay)	145	فرحة (furjat)	201
العلى (al'alî)	136	فروج (farûj)	201
عمد (amada)	82, 84, 91, 241	مفرحات (mufrihât)	201
معدان (mu ^c midânu)	94	فرح (farh / farah)	201
عند (inda)	96	فرد (farada)	308
عنز (anz)	49, 50, 56	مفرد (mufarrid)	308
عنا / عنو (anâ)	61	فردی (faradî)	309
		فره (faruha)	23

فَارِه (fârih)	23	مَرْوَع (murû [ۡ])	346
فَرْع (fara ^c a)	22	مَرْع (marû [ۡ] a)	346
مَفْرِع (mifra ^c)	22	مَرْوَعَة (murû [ۡ] at)	351
فَنْدَر (fandar)	344, 346	مَرْوَة (muruwat)	351
قَبْ (qabb)	108, 115	مَرَام (marâm)	335, 350
قَادُورَة (qâdîrat)	268	مَرَوم (marûm)	335, 350
قَرْع (qara ^c a)	284	مَرِي (maraya)	188
قَسْ (qassu)	388	مَارِيَة (Mâriyat)	337
قَنْطَ (qanîta)	60	مَرِيم (maryam)	336–337
قَاعٍ / قَعْ (qâ ^c a)	224	مَسْك (misk)	146
كَبْر (kabar)	182	مَسِن (musinn)	103
كَبَاس (kirbâs / karbâs)	116	مَنْ (man)	132, 133
كَرْفَس (kurfus)	116	نَبَا (naba [ۡ])	230
كَرْسَف (kursuf)	116	نَبِيَّ (nabih)	230
كَرْفَس (karâfîs)	116	نَبُو / نَبَا (nabû / nabâ)	230
كَسَاء (kisâ [ۡ])	193	نَبِيٌّ / نَبِيَّ (nabi ^c / nabî)	230
كَلَا (kala [ۡ] a)	130, 133	نَجْد (najd)	346, 352
كَلَاعَة الله (kilâ [ۡ] at [ۡ] allahi)	130	نَحْر (nahara)	389
كَلْب (kaliba)	258	نَحْر (nahara)	389
كَالِب (kâlib)	258	نَسْق (nasaqa)	124
كَلَاب (kallâb)	259	نَسَك (nasaka)	122
كَلْتَبَان (kaltabân)	258	نَشَأ (naša [ۡ] a)	128
لَ (la)	145	مَنْشَى (munšî)	128, 133
لَب (labba)	183	نَفْس (nafas)	203
لَكْن (lakin)	145	تَقَاب (naqâb)	172
مَت (matta)	40, 293	نَقِيب (naqîb)	115
مَات (mâta)	289	نَقِيبَة (naqîbat)	172, 175
مَاتَة (mâttat)	40, 293, 294	نَقَد (naqada)	223
مَثَل (matala)	16, 173	نَقَد (naqd)	222
مَخْلُد (muḥallad)	100, 104	نَقْذَ (naqida)	162
مَرَّ (marra)	349	نَقْذَ (naqad)	163
مَرِي (marî [ۡ])	334	نَقْرَ (naqara)	222

نُوْتِيْيَّ (nutiyy)	346, 353	وَسَاد (wassad)	251
نُوْتَات (nawwât)	346, 353	وَسَاد (wisâd)	247
هَرَاء (hirâ')	351	وَشَك (wašuka)	155, 157
هَرَاوِي (harâwa)	346	وَصْل (wuṣl / wiṣl)	195, 202
هَرَأْوَة (harâwat)	351	وَصْل (waṣala)	195, 202
هَلَّاكَ (halaka)	184	وَقَى (waqî)	127, 132
هَوَى (haway)	186	وَلْقَ (walaqa)	177, 184
هَام / هَمَى (haim / hâma)	61	وَلِه (waliha)	167
وَجْلَ (wajila)	121	يَعْسَ (ya'isa)	60, 131
وَدِي (wadaya)	194	يَدِي (yaday / yadi)"	194
وَدْعَ (wadâ'a)	70	يَسْرَ (yusr)	139, 148

ARAMAIC

אֲבָדּוֹתָא	201	כְּלַבִּיא	258, 262, 271
אָוְלֵפְנָא	120	כְּלַבִּיא	255, 258, 262, 271, 272
אָנוּרִיּ	254, 256	מְנֻדָּלָ נוּנִיא	338
אִיתִי	130	מְנֻדָּלָ צְבָעִיא	339, 354
אַמְרָ	278	מְנֻדָּלָא	348
בְּהַת	31, 180, 217	מְנֻדָּלָא	339, 340, 343,
בֵּית תּוֹרֶפֶא	267		344, 347, 354
בָּר	120	מְנֻדָּלָא	341, 347
בְּרִיחָא	124	מְנֻדָּלָא / מְגַהּוּלָא	340, 347
דִּילְמָא	346, 353	מְנֻדָּלָאָה	338, 354
דְּכָר	355	מְרָאָ מְלִכִּין	351
חֲדוּרָא	55	מְרָאָשְׁמִינִיא	351
חַזְוִירָא	252, 259, 264, 266, 274	מְרָגְלִיְתָא	274
חַזְוִירָא	260, 262, 263, 271, 272	מְתָא	297
חַטִּי	30	מְחַנִּיכָא	104, 105
חַרָּא	382, 387	סְוִטְךָא / סְטְךָא	343, 347, 357
חַרְבָּא	300, 303	עַמְפִּיא	372
שְׂרָפָא	283	עַפְרָא	1

פְּדוּרָא	344, 357	קְרָסֶם	282
פּוֹמְבָּרִתְּחָא	357	רַאֲשׁ הַנוּוִים	182
פּוֹנְדָּקֵי	72	רַהַט	31, 180, 217
פְּנִידְרָא	344, 346, 357	שְׁלִיחָה	272
פְּנִידְקִיתָה	73	שְׁלִזְגָּא	300, 303
פְּנִישְׂרָא	346, 358	תְּנָא	322
פְּרָח	196	תְּנָא	104

COPTIC

Σηβς (hebs)	244	μαεψηπ (maefshēp)	245, 248
λυχνια (luxnia)	244, 245	μαδιον (modion)	250
μααχε (maage)	245, 250	сѣос (stros)	331
μαθηтс (ma tīс)	331	ставропс (stauros)	331

EGYPTIAN

<i>Aburahana</i>	33	<i>mrwyty</i>	336, 351
<i>mri'</i>	336	<i>mt</i>	289
<i>mrwt</i>	351	<i>m(w)t</i>	289

ETHIOPIC

አምታት (<i>ämätäte</i>)	293	መርግዋ (<i>märēčawī</i>)	329
አማቅ (<i>homaqa</i>)	185	ምታ (<i>mëtë</i>)	289
መርግ (<i>märēčā</i>)	329		

GREEK

ἀγαπᾶν	359, 360, 367, 369, 370	ἀκολουθέω	368
ἀγαπάω	316	ἀλλήλους	317
ἀγάπη	318	Αλιηλ	361
ἄγιος	253, 255, 256, 261, 278	Αμαθι	39
ἀγκῶνα	194	Αμιηλ	361
ἄγροικος	20, 21	ἀναπετσθῆματ	196
ἀδελφὸν	316, 317, 330, 367	σάνεποδίσεν	87
αὶ πόλος	221, 225, 367	απελεύθερος	387

ἄνθρωπός	20, 21	Ελιαβ	361
ἀπομαγδαλιά	333, 348, 353	Ελιηλ	361
ἀποπομπήν	47	ἐνδεής	64
’Απφοῦς	397	ἐνεποδίσθη	96
ἀπόστολος	284	ἐντόλος	103, 105
ἀργός	285	ἐτραυματίσθης	213
ἀριέομαι	320	εύδοκιμούντων	111
ἄρτον	1, 4	ἐχθρὸς	316, 330
Ἄσαμωναῖος	391	ἔξουσιν κύνας	258
Ασελμωνα	391	ῆλιος	81
Ασεμ/Ησαμ / Ωσαμ	391	θηλυμανής	152, 157
ἄφεσιν	47	Θράκη	396
ἀφίημι	320	Θρακίδαν	393, 395, 396, 400
βουκόλος	225	ὶδρωτι τοῦ προσώπου	17
βύσσινος	116	ἴππος	152, 157
Γαδδῆς	397	Ιχθύς	373
γενεά	361	καταμετρημένος	215
γῆν	1, 4	κάλπασος	116, 117
γίζομαι	152, 157	καθαρός	120, 123
γνῶσις	256	κάρβασος	116, 118
γράμματα	246	καρπάσινος	116
γυννή	152	κάρπασος	116, 118
Δαλμανουθά	346, 353	καρπός	116, 117
δέλφαξ	282	Κασίω ὅρει	377, 383
διαμερισμόν	307	Κασσίου/Κασσίω	377, 388
διασκορπισμόν	196	καταφιλέω	120
διδάσκαλος	272	καταφύτευσιν	160, 162
διεσταλμένον	47	καταγώγιον	73, 76
διχάζω	308	καταπατεῖν	265
δράσσομαι	120, 122	καταπέσσω	266, 268
εἰρήνην	300, 304	κατέλυον	155
ἐκαστος	152	κῆτος	374
ἐκκενωθὲν	143	κλίνης	245, 250
ἐκλεκτός	120, 123	κνῖζω	221
ἐκλυσιν	196	κοπρία	266, 267, 268
ἐλάχιστος	366	κρύπτην	245, 246, 250
		κτίζω	160

κύων/κυσίν	255, 256, 259, 279	παρθένος	160
κυναρίος	257, 279	πενθέω	160, 166, 184
λίθος	285	περιελεύσονται	160
λυχνία	244, 245	περιέρχομαι	160
λύχνος	244	πηλός	386
Μαγαδάν	346, 352	πικραμός	182
μαγδάλια	333, 348, 353	πίπτω	348
μάγδωλος	353	πλησίον	152, 316, 317
μάκαιρα	305, 307, 312	ποικίλος	117
Μαθθαῖον	39	ποιμήν	367
μαργαρίτας	253, 256, 261, 276, 281, 285, 286	πολιτεία	111
Μαριαμ	337, 338	πονηρός	372
Μαριάμμη	352	πορεύομαι	160
Μαρίων	352	πορνεῖον	73
Μάρθα	335, 337	πόρνη	72
μέδινος	249	πρέσβεις	391, 397
μέρος	353	πρόβατον	371
μετανοεῖν	135	προσκυνεῖν	120, 123, 124
μισεῖν	320, 321, 324, 328, 332	πτωχούς	69
μόδιον	244, 245	πῦρ	312
ναύτης	346, 353	Ρααβ	77, 79
νακκαριμ	221, 223, 226	Ραγουηλ	361
νόμως	256	‘Ραχάβ	77, 78, 79
ξίφος	305	‘ρήγνυμι	270
οἵμος	161, 162, 176	ρίμφαία	305
όμαλίζω	161, 388	Σελμώνα	391
ὅρ / ὅρος	383, 385	Σίμων	369
ὅρέων	381, 385	σιρός	247, 251
ὅφις	1, 4, 373	Σιων	160, 166, 176
ὅχλος	264	σιωνιτ	160
παιδεία	120, 123	σκεύει	245, 249, 250
παιδίον	123	σπαργνῶ	194
πανδοκεύς	72	Σταδιεύς	343
πάνθηρ	358	σταυρὸν	319, 326
Πάππος	346	σταυρωθήτω	326
παρακλήσει	166	στολάς	105
		στραγαλων	119

INDICES

459

στρέφω	269, 284	φοβέομαι	126
στρεφέιν	269	φυλάσσουσαν	103
συκάμινον	221	φυλακτήρια	191, 193
Συμεων	391	χαμαιτυπεῖον	73
συφορβός	282	χαράσσων	227
σωτηρίαν	160, 162	χειριδον	119
τέκνον	79	χειρός	194
τιμωρίαν	160, 176	χίμαρον	47
τριβον	161, 162	χιτών	117
ύπνων	218	χοῖρος	259, 279, 282
ῦς	279	χρεμετίζω	152
φιλαδελφία	317	ψιχίον	333
φιλεῖν	359, 360, 363, 364, 365, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371	ῷμους	160, 161, 176
φίλος	316	ῳργίσθη	79

HEBREW

אָבָרְהָם	33	אַהֲבָה	316, 330, 360, 362–366, 370
אָבָרִם	31, 85	אַהֲרֹן	346
אָבִיאָסָף	32	אָוֶר	23
אָבִיה	294, 361	אָוֶר	312
אָבִירָם	33	אָז	88
אָבִישָׁג	32	אָזָל	47, 51, 54
אָבִישָׁר	32	אִיזָּלָא	54
אָבָן	373	אָחָת	316, 329
אָבָרִי	152, 362	אָחָתָה	294, 361
אָגָם	23	אָחָתָה	236–238
אָנוֹר	126	אָיָףָה	232, 237
אָנָנוֹר	127, 132	אִישׁ	59, 131
אָדִירִים	55	אִישׁ	59, 63, 131
אָדָם	23, 26, 27, 29	אִתְּהִיאֵל	129
אָדָם	97	אִכְּלָל	130
אָדָמָה	2	אַכְּלָל	130, 133
אָדָנִיתָה	346, 351		

אל גבורי	176	אשרה	141
אליעם	361	אשר	138
אל כבורי	176	בגֶּר	101
אללה	236, 237, 238	בדָּרְדָּר	169, 181
אלֵהִים	107	בדָּרְדָּר	215
אלָלָה	114	בְּדָל	164, 165
אלָלָה	107, 112, 114	בדָּק	165
אלָלָה	114	בּוֹס	266
אלָלָה	170, 177, 178	בוֹשׁ	31, 180, 217
אלָלָה	363	בוֹשָׁה	80
אלָלה	167, 177, 177	בָּזָה	107
אלָלה	168, 169, 177, 178, 363	בחור	362
אלָלה	361, 363	בן	133
אלָלה	361, 362, 363, 364, 366, 368	חֲבוּנָה	211, 213
אלָלה	159, 166170, 178, 184, 363, 364	בַּיִת	233, 237
אלָלה	363	בַּתִּים	233, 237
אלָלה	363	בֵּית הַדּוֹרִי	48, 54
אלָלה	363	בֵּית הָרָן	48
אלָלה	363	בֵּית כְּסָא	252
אלָלָל	361	בּוֹלָס	221, 226, 227, 228
מַאֲלָקָה	142	כְּלָשׂ	227, 229
מַאֲלָקָה	140	בָּן	362
אַטְנוֹן	45	בְּרַחְיָל	107, 344
אַמְתָּה	45	בְּזִיזָה	127
אַמְתָּה	39, 294, 298	בָּן סְטָקָא	344
אָנָּן / אָנָּה	181	בָּעֵל	343
אָף	1, 14, 17, 398	בָּוּעַל	343
אָפְּרִיךְ	201	בְּעַלָּה	166
אָצִיל	194, 195, 202	בָּעַרְבָּר	172
אָרָהָה	3, 398	בָּעָרָה	131
אָרָץ	1, 161, 177	בָּעָרָה	131
אָרָץ	162, 177	בָּקָר	3, 225
אָשָׁה	236–238	בָּקָר בָּקָר	201, 226
אָשָׁךְ	154	בָּוּקָר	221, 226, 229

INDICES

461

בר	22, 26, 121, 122	דור	54, 55, 360
ברא	21, 22, 26, 123, 389	דום	84, 86, 88, 92
בריל	51	דומה	80
בַּת מִצְוָה	117	דֹס	266
בְּתַל	163, 164	דָזֵרֶה / דָזֵר	260, 261, 285
בְּתוּלָה	159, 163–166, 173	דָזֵר	31, 180, 217, 260
NAL	23	דייג	280
نبעה	386	דְּכַרְךָ	122, 155
נבר	128	דָם	97, 216–219
גָּבָר	128, 158, 178, 181	הַמִּדּוֹת	95
גָּבָרִיר	176, 177, 178	דְּמָה	93, 181
גָּבְרִיאָל	131, 133	דְּמָם	81, 92, 93, 181
גָּבָרָד	175	דְּקָקָן	122, 155
גָּדָרִים	155, 156	דְּרוֹס	266, 282
גָּדוֹלָה	107	דְּרָשָׁה	266
גָּדוֹלָל	342	הַדּוֹרִי	48, 54
גָּדוֹלָה	342	הַהֶּרֶת	17
מְגַדֵּל / מְגַדֵּלָה	338, 347	חַיִּיה	151
מְנֻהָּלָא	339–341, 343,	הִיכְלָל	233
מְנֻהָּלָה	344, 347, 348, 354	חוֹם	61
מְנֻהָּלָה	338, 354	הַלּוֹזֶן	185
נוֹר	126, 127, 155	הַלְּךָ	183
נוֹלָד	121	הַלְּמָם	161, 388
נוֹלָד	201	הַמְּלָל	161, 388
נוֹלָד	181	הַפְּקָדָה	216
נוֹמָא	23	הַרְבָּה	381, 385, 386, 387
נוֹעַ	23	הַרְבּוֹתָה	351
נוֹעַל	23	הַרְיוֹן	351
נוֹפָן	117	זְבַל	30
נוֹרָר	156	זָהָר	75
רָא	345, 357	זָוִין	72, 77, 153
רְבָקָן	368, 372	זָוֵן	79
רְהַם	218	זָוָנה	72, 78, 80
רְהַם	84, 86, 88, 92	מְזֹוֹן	77

INDICES

מִזְנִים	151, 155	חֲלֻקָּות	394, 395, 401
זָהָל	3	חֲלֻקָּות	342, 394, 395
גַּגֶּה	72, 79	חַמֵּק	172, 185
וּבָה	72, 78	חַמֵּק	172, 177
זָנוֹת	354	חַנָּן	166, 179
זָנוֹנִים	80	חֹרֶר / חָרֶר	381–385, 387, 388
זָכָר	355	חָרָא	381
זָל	54, 56	חָרָב	305, 311, 312
זָעָה	14	חָשָׁךְ	216
זָקָן	362	חָשְׁמוֹןָאִי	391, 398
חָבֵר	360	חָשְׁמוֹנָאִי	391, 392, 398
חָבְרִין	372, 373	חָשְׁמוֹנָה	391, 398
חָרֵל	65, 67, 68, 70	חָשְׁמוֹנָה	253, 255, 256,
חָרֵלִי	70	טָהָור	259, 271, 272
חָרֵר	54, 55	טוֹב	145, 149, 150
חָדוּרִי	55	טָלָה	371
חָיוֹא	1	טָעַה / תָּעַה	266
חָוָר	381	טָרֵף / תָּרֵפָה	266, 269, 271
חָוָר	116	מָטְרֵף / מָטְרִיף	267, 268
חָוִין	110	וְאַשְׁ	60, 131
חָוָר	269, 271	גִּנְעָר	126
חָוָר / חָוָרים	260, 262, 263, 269–272	יִדָּה	194
חָטָא	385, 386	יִדְוִי	194
חָטָף	358	גִּזְזָן	153
חָיה	2	מוֹזָנִים	152, 153, 155, 157
חָיל	344	מִזְנִים	151–155, 157
חָלָף	306–314	יִכְלָה	130
חָלָף	306, 313, 314	יִם	334, 335, 336, 349
חָלָף	306, 307, 314	יִסּוּר	251
חָלָף	305, 306, 314	יִשְׁלָל	172
חָלָף	305, 307, 311	יִקְהָה	125, 127, 132
חָלָף	305, 307	יִרְדָּה	132
חָולָף	305, 311	יִרְהָה	260, 268, 271
		יִרְהָה	260

INDICES

463

מוֹרָה	260	לוֹוִיתָן	373
תוֹרָה	253, 261, 262, 271, 285, 286	לְחֵךְ	1, 3
גִּרְכַּתִּי-אָרֶץ	202	לְחֵם	3, 373
יִשְׂרָאֵל	155, 157	מְאַרְיָה	334, 345, 349
יִשְׁרָאֵל	139	מְנֻגָּד	353
פָּתָן	362	מְנֻגָּל/מְנֻגָּל	338, 347
פּוֹלֵל	130	מְנֻגָּלָא	339, 341, 343
כָּלָא	130	מְנֻגָּלָאָה	344, 347, 348, 354
כָּלָב	255, 258, 262, 270–273	מְנֻגָּלָנִיה	338, 354
כָּלָב	258, 259, 271	מְנֻגָּלָצְבָּעִיא	339, 354
כָּלָב	279	מְנֻגָּלָנוֹנִיא	338
כָּלָב	279	מְרִמְנָה/מְרִמְנָן	267
כָּלָבָה	279	מִהָּ	132
כָּלָל/כָּלָה	130, 181	מוֹךְ	110
כִּנְפוֹת הָאָרֶץ	202	מוֹרָה	260, 350
כָּפָר	234, 237	מוֹרִיה	346, 351
כָּסָה	193	מְחַלֵּף	305
כָּסָת	193	מִים	334, 349
כָּפָר	399	מִיתָּ	289
כָּפִיר	399	מְבָדֵךְ	110
כָּרִים	310	מְמַלְכַּת כְּהָנִים	165
כָּרָה	389	מְנוֹרָה	244
כְּרָמֵל	51	מְצֹודָ	203
כְּרָסָם	266, 267, 268, 269, 281, 283	מְצָרָה צִיוֹן	180
כְּרָפֵס	116, 117	מְצֹוָה	117
כְּשָׁכֶן	122	מְרָא	188, 334, 336
לְ/לָא	71, 86, 96, 97, 129, 133, 136, 144, 145, 148, 203, 224, 225, 230	מְרָה	334
לְהַטְּ/לָאָט	31, 217	מְרִיה	351
לוֹרְ	345	מְרִיּוֹן	352
לְהַטְּ/לוֹט	31, 180, 217	מְרִים	334, 345, 349
		מְרִתָּה	337
		מְשָׁא/מְשִׁיאָה	128, 133
		מְשִׁיבָב	111

מְשֻׁלָּם	12	נִקּוֹה	162, 170, 177
מְשֻׁנָּה	103, 105	גַּנְךָ	222, 223
מוֹתָן	335	גַּשֶּׁשֶׁ	122
מוֹתִים	295	נֵר	244
מוֹתִים	295	גַּשָּׂא	128, 133
מוֹתִים	295	גַּשָּׁק	122, 370
מְפֻּתָּה	294, 295	סְבָבָּה	158, 173, 186
מְתַתִּיה	39, 294, 295, 298	סּוּבְּבָּה / שׁוּבָּבָּה	175, 176, 177, 178
גַּאֲם	128	סְבָלָתָּה	181
גַּבְּרִיא	221, 222, 224, 230	שָׁגָּג / סָגָּג	227
גַּבְּרִיאָה	101	סּוֹדָּה / סּוֹדָּא	247, 248, 251
גַּנְגָּר	346	שָׁוְטָה	344
גַּרְדָּר	110	סּוּכָּךְ	208
גַּהְרָה	31, 85, 217, 219	סּוּם / שָׁזָם	203
נוֹרָה	110	סּוֹטָה	151, 155, 157
גַּהְרָה / נִירָה	180	שָׁוָרָה / סּוֹרָה	227
נוֹרָה	31, 85, 217, 219	סְטָתָה	345, 357
גַּחְםָם	166	סְנָן	386
נְחַשָּׁן	1	סִירָה	247, 248, 249
נְחַרָה	385, 389	סְכָלָה	172
גַּמְשָׁן	67	סְכִינָה	214
נְכַשָּׁה	122	סְלָעָה	213
נְכָה	385, 389	סְמָלָה	236
גַּנְפָּלָה	30	סְנָאָה / שְׁנָאָה	319, 321, 322,
נְפַקְתָּה בְּרָא	72		323, 324, 326, 330
נְצָרִים	285	סְפָחָה	227
נְקָבָה	108	סְפַחַת	227
גַּנְקָבָה	158, 170, 174, 177, 181	מְסֻפְּחָה	193, 194
גַּקְיָבָה / גַּנְקָבָה	172, 173, 175,	סְתִּיוֹן	181
	176, 178, 179	סְתִּרְחָה	244
גַּנְךָ	163	עֲנָבָה	182
גַּנְךָ / גַּנְךִּים	221, 223, 226, 229	עֲנָם	23
גַּנְךָה	162, 170, 177	עֲדָדָה	110, 111
גַּנְקָוִי	163	עֲדִי / עֲדוֹ	396

INDICES

465

שור	23	עַצְבָּן	13, 16
על	385, 386	עַצְבָּן	3, 13, 14, 16
נון	235	עֲתִי	50, 54
עניך	247, 250	פָּה	234
ערר	337	פֹּזֶק	213
יעז	47, 49, 50, 54, 56	פִּילְגָּשׁ	79
עַזְבָּן	67	פְּסִים	117
עַזְאֵל	47, 48	פָּקָר	201
עַזְאָל	51, 53, 56	פָּרָא	18, 20, 22, 23, 26, 27
על	47, 54	פָּרִינִית	201
ערר	15	פָּרֶד	28, 308, 309
עַזְמָוָת	51	פְּרֹזֶן	10
עַזְלָא	54	פָּרָח	196, 201
עַזְן	233, 235	פָּרָעָה	22, 26, 27
עַרְך	247, 250	פְּרֹועַ	23
עַלְטָה	85	פָּרָשָׁ	395
עַלְיוֹן	132	פָּרָשָׁ	280
עַלְל	362	פְּרוֹשָׁ	165, 395
עַם	361, 362	פָּשָׁר	291
עַם הארץ	255, 258,	פְּתָחָם	23
	259, 263, 270		
עַמְיָאל	361	פְּתִימָ	333
לא עַמְיָ	80	פְּתֻחָ	23
עַלְמוֹת	144	צֹואָה	267
עַמָּד	81, 84, 86, 88, 241, 243	צָאן	222, 226, 228, 371
עַנְגָּן	365	צְבָעִים	346
פְּעֻנְגָּות	142	צְדָר	195, 203
עַנְהָה	61, 62	צְהָלָ	152
עַנְיָן	59, 62	צְהָרָ	75
עַנְנִים	63	צְהָרִים	336
עַנְנִי	61–63	צְהָרִים	336, 350
עַפְרָ	1, 58, 234	צָוֵד	195
עַפְרָה	234	צָוֵק	48
עַפְעָה	250	צָוֵר / צָוֵר	212, 213
		צָדִיק	396

צִיּוֹן	166, 168, 169, 180	רַיִם/רוֹם	350
צִיּוֹן	159, 176, 180, 182	רוּעָן	372
צִיוֹר	212	רוֹזֶן	31, 180, 217
צָלֵב	327	רְחָם	35, 360
צָמָר	117	רְחִפָּה	80
צָעֵדָה	28	רְחִיל	168
צָעִיר	366	רִיחָן	144, 146
צָפָן	386, 387	רְכֵךְ	183
קְבָבָן	108, 115	רְמֵה	168
קְבָרָן	120	רְמֵשׁ	2
קְרָשָׁן	255	רְעֵיאָה/רְעֵאָה	369
קְרָשָׁה/קְרָשָׁן	258	רְעַדָּה	121
קִיה/קִיאָן	135	רְעָה	360, 362, 363,
קְלָלָן/קְלָלָה	181		365, 366, 368, 370, 372
קְנָה/קְנָאָה	236	רַע	113, 254, 294, 298,
קְנָאָה	236		316, 319, 329, 330,
קְצֹות הָאָרֶץ	202		362, 370, 372, 373
קְרָעָן	270, 271	מִרְעָן	329, 363
קְרָתָהָא	297	רְעֵעָן/רְעָן	363, 372
קְשִׁיָּה	383, 388	רַע	319, 372
קְשָׁקֶשֶׁן	122	רְעוֹאָל	294, 361
קְשָׁתָה	193	רְפָאָה	41
רָאָם	337	רְפָה	41, 67
רָאָם	31	רַקְקָה	145
רָאָויָה	194	רְשָׁעָן	182
רְבִּיבָּגָן	214	רְשָׁעָה	236
רְבִּיסּוֹן	214	שְׂדָה	236, 237
רְבִּסְרִיס	214	שְׂוִים / סְוִים	2
רְבִּשָּׁבָה	214		201, 303, 311
רְבִּשָּׁבָן	1, 268, 269	שְׂמָאלָן	146
רְגָלָן	373	שְׂמָחָה	152
רְגָם	132	שְׂגָנָא	322, 325
רְדָה	218	שְׂעִירִים	52
רְדוּם	30, 132, 224	שְׂפָתָן	353
רוֹם		שָׁרָן	108

שֶׁרֶה	184	תָּאֵב	23
שְׁבָב	159, 173, 175, 176, 177	תָּאַמְרוּרִים	168
שְׁבָבָה	228	!bt	3, 8
שְׁבָבָה	107	תְּבוֹנוֹה	211, 213
שְׁבָבָה	181	תָּבֵר	201
שְׁגַנְגָן/שְׁגַנָּה	181	תְּגֻרָא	280
שְׁדוֹת/שְׁדָה	140	תְּזַרְפָא	267
שְׁוֹטָה	344	תּוֹרָה	253, 261, 262, 271, 285, 286
שְׁחַחַת/שְׁחַחָה	181	תּוֹרָה/תּוֹרָה	260, 261, 285, 286
שְׁחַוִוָן	346	תּוֹרִים	280
שְׁכִינָה	18, 26	תּוֹרָף	283
שְׁלָמָם	272	תּוֹרָק	143, 147
שְׁלָמָם	304, 311	תְּכִנִית	211, 213
שְׁלָמָם	304, 306, 311	תַּל	50, 56
שְׁלָמָם	303	תְּלָה/תְּלָא	326, 327
שְׁלָמָם	310	תְּלָמִיד	264, 272
שְׁלָמָם	304, 306	תְּמַס/תָּמָם	289
שְׁמָם	109, 146, 147, 149	תְּמִרְמִירִים	159, 168, 176, 178, 182
שְׁמָמָה	132, 133	תְּנִינָה	373
שְׁמָמָה	145, 149	תְּעֵב	183
שְׁמָמָה	143, 145, 147, 149	תְּעֵה/תְּעֵה	266
שְׁמָעָרַנִי	391	חָפֶר	201
שְׁנָאָן	322	תְּקַעַע	24
שְׁנָה	322, 325, 328, 331, 332	תְּרוֹמָה	224
שְׁנָה	322, 323, 325, 326, 328	תְּרֵךְ	396
שְׁנָנָא	323	טְרֵף/תְּרֵף	266, 269, 271
שְׁנָנָי/שְׁנִי/שְׁנָה	323	תְּרֵפָיוֹן/תְּרֵפּוֹת	267
שְׁסָסָס/שְׁסָה	181	תְּשִׁוָּקָה	14
שְׁפָח	227		
שְׁקָט	283		
שְׁקָמִים	221, 228		
שְׁרִים	108		

LATIN

<i>celeres</i>	30	<i>carbasus</i>	116
<i>equites</i>	30	<i>clavus</i>	119
<i>currus</i>	30	<i>effusum</i>	143
<i>caper</i>	30	<i>virgo intacta</i>	164
<i>emitto</i>	47	<i>modius</i>	249

SYRIAC

ବେର୍ବ (<i>bēra²</i>)	120	ଅମାଦ (<i>āmad</i>)	84, 91, 241–243
ଗେଦାଳ (<i>gedal</i>)	339, 340	ପେରା (<i>pe²ra²</i>)	20
ଦୁଃତାନ (<i>dū^cata²</i>)	70	ପେଲ୍ଗୁଟା (<i>pelgūtā²</i>)	307
ଦୂଷ (<i>duś</i>)	266	ପରୁଗା (<i>parūgā²</i>)	201
ହେବାର (<i>hēbar</i>)	360	ପାରୁହେ (<i>pārūhe²</i>)	201
ହାତାନ (<i>hātan</i>)	42	ଶେଵାୟା (<i>shēwāyā²</i>)	180
ହଲପାଯ (<i>halpay</i>)	314	ଶେହ୍ୟୁଣ (<i>sehyūn</i>)	180
ହରବା (<i>harbā²</i>)	311, 314	କାନୁନା (<i>qanunā²</i>)	266
ତୁରା (<i>turā²</i>)	381	ରେଗାଲ (<i>rēgal</i>)	268
ତେନାଦ (<i>tēnā²</i>)	322	ରେମା (<i>rēmā²</i>)	260
କାଲାବା (<i>kallābā²</i>)	258	ରେୟାନା (<i>re^cyānā²</i>)	307
କେଲିଲ (<i>kēlīl</i>)	231	ସୁଦା (<i>sūdā²</i>)	247, 248
କରବାସା (<i>karbasā²</i>)	116	ସାପା (<i>saypā²</i>)	307, 314
କେରପ୍ସା (<i>kērapsā²</i>)	116, 118	ସେନା (<i>sēnā²</i>)	322
ମିତ (<i>mīt</i>)	289	ସୈନ୍ୟା (<i>shaynā²</i>)	314
ନେଶ୍କୁ (<i>nēśqu</i>)	120	ସେନାଦ (<i>śenā²</i>)	322, 324

UGARITIC

^o <i>ap</i>	233	<i>mr</i> ^o	278
^o <i>atr</i>	184	<i>mt</i>	289
<i>d</i> ^c	70	<i>skn</i>	214
^c <i>dd</i>	110	<i>'lm</i>	144
<i>dry</i>	70	<i>ǵdd</i>	110
<i>hdrm</i>	233	<i>rh</i>	144, 145
<i>hzr</i>	280, 282	<i>šn</i> ^o	322
<i>hnzr</i>	282	<i>šnw</i>	322

INDICES

469

BIBLICAL REFERENCE INDEX

GENESIS			
1:5	236	45:14	25
1:21	374	45:23	77
1:27	139	49:8	214
2	208	49:22	20, 28
2:18	15	50:1	25
2:24	308, 325	50:17	135
		EXODUS	
3:1	2	2:22	43
3:7	201	4:24	294–295
3:14	1–8	4:24–26	38, 43–44, 298
3:16	12–15, 173	7:8–20	352
5:2	139	7:11	31, 217
6	52	7:20	219
10–12	18, 26, 27	8:5–19	352
12:1	32	11:3	58–59
12:3	27	14:25	136
15:5	34	15:23	334
15:17	85, 218	19:1	180
16:12	24, 26, 29	19:5–6	165
17:20	20	21:2	115
22:2	351	22:30	257
22:17	34	22:31	259
24:47	276	23:5	330
25:12–18	24–30	26:1	344
25:17	18, 27	29:33	254, 259
29:31–33	331	32:27	301
30:20	30	LEVITICUS	
36:43	353	2:3	254
37:3	117	10:14	255
38:15	73	16	47, 53
38:28	184	16:8–26	47–57
42:30	214	17:17	52
43:33	330		

18:5	281	15:12–18	115
19:17–18, 34	316	21:15–17	331
19:18	113, 318	21:16	20
20:14	142	21:18–20	335
20:24, 26	164	22:11	368
21:20	154	23:18–19	258
22:10–16	254	27:2	99
24:14, 16, 23	373	27:21	258
25:36	136	28:1–14	212
25:39–43	115	28:43	136
26:18	136	29:20	99
NUMBERS			
1:17	115	29:26	237
12:1	40, 334	30:20	368
12:3	58–63, 136	32:8	237
16:1	32	33:4	263
16:9	165	33:3	135
17:6–8	352	33:8	38
18:8–19	254	JOSHUA	
20:1	349	1:5	67
22:3	135	2:1	72, 73, 77, 78
22:38	310	5:14	96
24:17	243	6:17, 25	72
26:14	391	9:17	399
32:36	48	10	91
33:29	391	10:6–15	81–92
33:32–33	383	10:12–13	81, 82, 84–86,
			91, 92, 97, 218, 243
DEUTERONOMY			
4:19	237	12:2	353
6:4	318, 360	15:27	391
10:7	388	18:26	399
11:3	203	21:4	391
12:15	254	22:5	368
15:4–11	64–71	JUDGES	
		4:21	31, 217

5	43	20:10–11	202
5:7	10, 66, 70, 228	21:13	154
5:19–21	183	22:40	136
5:20	95	23:31	51
5:21	161, 388	24:9	181
5:22	96	I KINGS	
5:26	312	6:13	67
6:9	310	7:12, 40–51	233
6:13	67	7:15	103, 168
8:26	119	8:53	164
9:46	314	8:57	68
12:6	181, 331	14:3	222
14:20	363, 365	20:28–30	114
18:30–31	43	22:6–33	225
19:2	75, 78, 79	22:36	84, 241
RUTH		II KINGS	
1:14	368	4:38–41	247
I SAMUEL		7:13	257
2:5	70	10:1	115
2:16	70	14:3	222
4:4	232	15:26	398
14:9	93	16:5	106
17:8	123	18:17–37	214
17:21	181	18:26	108
20:2	70	22:14	98, 100, 101, 104, 105
25:25	146		
II SAMUEL		22:15	99
3:35	84, 241	25:29	331
7:19	261	I CHRONICLES	
11:3	362	3:5	362
13:18	118	4:34.	111
13:18–19	117	5:32	351
19:7	331	11:5	180
19:28	268	11:46–47	362

		PSALMS	
12:31	115	2:10–12	122
16:41	115	2:11	28
17:17	261	2:11–12	120–124
II CHRONICLES		4:8	279
28:6–8	106	8:2	132
31:19	115	8:7	150
32:30	180	9:13	330
34:22	98, 100–105	12:4	342, 401
EZRA		12:7	255
2:25	399	15:3	268
10:33	294	18:1	360
NEHEMIAH		18:40	136, 267
7:22	391	19:8–10	255
7:29	399	20:3	15
8:4	391	22:17	63, 257
9:1	176	35:1	114
10:19	391	35:15	284
12:2	351	35:15–16	270
ESTHER		37:3–4	365
1:6	116, 118, 261	38:11	370
2:9	323	40:7	330
7:9	327	48:3	387
JOB		55:19–20	313
8:22	330	59:7	257
16:15	201, 202	60:8	255
20:24	312	68:32 [MT]	391
30:27	93	68:31	391
31:29	330	71:3	237
35:5	176	72:9	3
37:3	202	74:6	136
39:5–8	19	74:14	373
39:18	188	80:14	266, 267
40:25–41:26	373	80:15	330

81:15 [LXX]	330	7:19	139
89:36	255	7:28	142
89:40	213	8:1	323
90:1	237	12:2	220
91:9	237	SONG OF SOLOMON	
104:26	373	1:3	145–150
105:4	255	1:4	142–145
108:8	255	1:10	261, 280
117:7 [LXX]	330	1:24	360
118:7	330	5:16	329
119:141	371	7:7	365
127:2	323	7:11	14
147:20	263	ISAIAH	
PROVERBS			
3:15	285	7:1–17	106
8:3	234	7:1–8:15	106
8:11	285	10:21	176
8:13	319, 329	11:6–9	4, 9
11:12	252	11:7	2, 4, 8, 9
13:24	331	13–14	95
16:7	278	13:10	220
18:24	363, 364, 368	13:20	136
19:27	70	25:10	267
22:19	214	36:2–22	214
23:4	70	36:11	108
23:5	247, 251	38:12–13	311
28:24	326, 332	41:9	202
30:1	57	44:16	312
30:1–5	43, 125136	45:2	48
31:8	314	45:5, 6, 18, 21	70
ECCLESIASTES			
3:6	201	47:14	312
4:14	136	49:2–3	3
7:1	146	53:3	71
		54:12	280
		56:10–11	257, 279

60:15	331	31:22	170, 172, 174, 175
60:21	361	35:11	247
61:3	361, 363	38:12	195
65	4	38:22	162
65:1–7	206	39:3, 13	214
65:3–5	204	40:10	310
65:17–18	204	44:17, 19	191
65:25	1–9, 11	46:17	135
66:3	263	47:6	93
66:24	206	47:10 [LXX]	310
JEREMIAH			
2:24	19	51:53	50
3:1	360	52:21	103, 167
3:20	329	52:22	331
3:21	167	LAMENTATIONS	
5:7	155	1:2	329
5:8	151, 152, 155, 156	1:1–4	169
6:11	188	1:5	362
6:22	202	1:11	362
7:18	191	1:15	362
8:14	93	1:16	362
14:9	218	1:19	115, 362
23:9	255	2:9	115
26:21	40	2:11	202
30:6	158	2:18	93
31:3–4	174	3:22	150
31:6	168, 169	3:29	1
31:7	152, 166, 181	4:16	115
31:9	164, 166, 170	5:12	115
31:15–22	168–170	EZEKIEL	
31:18	176	5:2	312
31:19	177	5:12, 16	193
31:21–22	158, 159, 168, 170, 177, 178	6:3–8, 11 8:3	193 236

INDICES

475

9:5–6	193	10:10	234
13:17	96	12:1	369
13:17–23	191, 192, 196, 200	13:8	270
13:18	203	13:15	20
16:7	337	16:12	28
21:1–18	193	JOEL	
21:19	123	1:8	163, 166
21:22	310	2:10	216
22:4	212	2:30–31	218–219
23:24 [LXX]	310	2:31	95, 97, 216
23:47	389	3–4	95
23:49	212	AMOS	
24:14	212	1:1	221–230
24:19	212	3:8	224
26:14	212	7:14, 15	165, 221–230
27:13–14	154	8:9	95
27:31	188		
28	204, 207, 208, 211	JONAH	
28:2, 7, 12, 16, 17	207	1:1	39
28:2–23	96	MICAH	
32:7	220	4:9	298, 372
33:31	175	6:4	337, 350
47:1–9	180	7:6	308, 310
DANIEL		7:17	3
1:3	214	NAHUM	
2:47	351	2:12	393
3:29	130	3:18	298, 372
5:25	291	HABAKKUK	
5:23	351	3:11	86
HOSEA		ZEPHANIAH	
1:2	76, 78–80	1	95
1:6–8	80	ZECHARIAH	
2:20	2	3:6–10	206
9:12	227		

4:1	1096	10:34–36	299
4:1–14	204–206	10:35–36	307–308
5:5–11	232–234	10:36	330
6:2, 6	85, 219	10:37–38	319
9:9	238	10:39	332
14:10	31, 217	15:4	320
MALACHI			
1:2	331	15:26	275
4:6	29	15:26–27	267
		15:27	279
MATTHEW			
1:5	77	15:39	352
1:19	40	16:25	332
2:7	243	17:22–27	292
2:9	239–243	19:19	316, 325
2:16	243	19:22	324
3:2	302	22:39	316
3:11–12	302	24:29	220
4:12	331	25:31–46	367
5:9	299	25:40	366
5:15	244–251	26:52	299
5:17	262, 274	26:74–75	359
5:43	373	27:11–14	273
5:44	316	27:56	349
6:13	29	28:1	349
6:24	331	MARK	
7:6	252–287	4:21	245, 246, 250
7:9–11	372–374	8:10	353
7:15	283	8:35	332
8:22	288–298	9:50	300
8:28–34	264	10:17	332
9:9	39	10:19	325
10:3	313	12:29	318
10:6	252	12:31	316
10:34	301, 302	13:24	220

LUKE			
2:7	194	12:25 13:34–35	332 317, 367
6:35	316	15:12–13, 17	317
7:20	305	15:13	332
7:37	333	15:15	365
8:2	333	19:26–27	326
8:16	245, 248	21:15	359
9:23	368	21:15–17	363
9:24	332	21:15–22	368
9:60	290, 291, 296	21:15–23	360
10:25–28	318	ACTS	
10:27	316	2:20	220
10:29–37	274	10:28	364
10:35	110		
11:33	245–248	ROMANS	
12:49	312	9:13	331
12:51	307, 309	13:9	316
14:26	318–324	13:10	317
14:26–27	316–332	I CORINTHIANS	
14:34	325	13:13	318
16:20	279	GALATIANS	
17:33	332	2:7	369
18:18	332	2:14	369
18:20	325		
21:8–35	302	PHILIPPANS	
23:45	220	3:2	257
JOHN		I TIMOTHY	
1:42	369	5:4	326, 332
3:11–4:21	317	II TIMOTHY	
4:4–30	274	3:15	256
10:14–15	367	HEBREWS	
10:16	368	11:31	72, 73
11:1	333	13:1	317
12:8	69		

JAMES		REVELATION	
2:8	316	1:16	300
2:25	72, 73	2:12, 16	300
		5:5	398
I PETER		6:5	85, 219
5:4	367	6:12	220
5:14	367	9:2	220
I JOHN		19:15, 21	300
2:9	331	21:21	280
3:16	367	22:15	257
4:21	367		

NON-CANONICAL TEXTS

DEUTERO-CANONICAL			
1 Macc 3:4	392	Jewish Wars 1: 7. 5	375, 386, 399
1 Macc 2:24–49	392	Jewish Wars 2: 8. 7	285
I Macc 2: 24–27	392	Jewish Wars 5: 330	246
II Macc 6:28–30	256		
Sirach 43:10	240	MISCELLANEOUS	
Sirach 46:2	87	Aristophanes' <i>Knights</i>	348
Tobit 5:17, 6:1, 11:5	257	<i>Book of Jasher</i>	8183, 86,
			87, 89, 91, 93
JOSEPHUS		Dio Cassius'	
Antiquities 2: 221	352		
Antiquities 3: 54	352	<i>Roman History</i> 34–43,	376, 377
Antiquities 5: 2, 1	73	Herodotus (II: 142)	93
Antiquities 9: 245	113	Herodotus III: 5	387
Antiquities 9: 246–247	114	Homer's <i>Iliad</i> II: 412	82
Antiquities 9: 250	111	<i>Jerahmeel</i> 47:1–2	37
Antiquities 12: 265–266	397	Lucan's <i>Pharsalia</i>	378
Antiquities 13: 10: 296	401	Plutarch's <i>Parallel Lives</i>	377
Antiquities 13: 14: 379–383	358, 399	Sophocles' <i>Fragmenata</i> 34	333
Antiquities 13: 374	393, 396, 401		
Antiquities 14: 4. 4	375, 386, 399	N. T. APOCRYPHAL	
		Acts of Peter 31–41	369
		Acts of Peter and Apostles	
		1: 1–12, 22	285

Gospel of Mary	341, 356	Sura 29:26	135
Gospel of Nicodemus 2:3	356	Sura 51:44	50
Gospel of Phillip	341, 356	Sura 56:17	100
Gospel of Thomas	341, 356	Sura 73:8	163
Logia 55	331	Sura 86:19	100
Logia 33	245	Sura 89:24	355
Logia 114	356		
Pistis Sophia	341, 356	RABBINIC	
		Arakhin 10 ^b	303
O. T. PSEUDEPIGRAPHA			
Enoch 6	52, 53	Abodah Zarah 2:7	281
Enoch 6:1–11:22	56	Abodah Zarah 3 ^a	281
Enoch 10:4	55	Baba M’tsi‘a 2.11	330
Enoch 13:1	56	Baba M’tsi‘a 76 ^b	304
Enoch 54:5–6	56	Berakoth 25 ^a	284
Enoch 55:4	56	Berakoth 39 ^b	310
Enoch 89:41–50	257	Canticles Rabbah VII, 1	310
Jubilees 48: 2–3	37	Gittim 67 ^a	154
Psalms of Solomon		Gittim 77.2	355
2:1–2	375	Ḥagigah 4 ^b	340
2:26–27	375–390	Ḥagigah 13 ^a	281
2:30 (Syriac text)	375	Kilayim 32 ^d	352
QUMRAN		Leviticus Rabbah 9: 3	279
4Q169 (4Qp Nahum)	393, 394, 395	Lamentations Rabbah	338, 339
4Q180	53	Megillah 14 ^b	98
11QTemptle 26:13	53	Megillah 18 ^{a–b}	10
11QtgJob 38:8	276	Midrash Rabbah	29, 282
DSD ix. 17	272–273	Pesahim 46 ^a	353
		Pesahim 49 ^a	279
		Pesahim 49 ^b	269, 279–281
QURAN		Rosh Hashanah 26 ^{a–b}	10
Sura 2:244	114	Sanhedrin 59 ^a	281
Sura 3:9	370	Sanhedrin 67 ^a	357
Sura 8:54, 56	370	Sanhedrin 99 ^b	310
Sura 12:7	203	Sanhedrin VII: 25 ^d	343
Sura 14:19	201	Seder Olam Rabbah, III	334

INDICES

Shabbath 31 ^a	281	Terumot 46 ^a	278
Shabbath 104 ^b	342, 344	Tosefta D'Mai II:20	277
Sifra, Ahare 2:8.	48	Yalkut Shimoni, Shemot 165	349
Sotah 12 ^a	350	Yebamoth 62 ^b	171, 173
Ta'ānith 7 ^b	323	Yoma 67 ^b	48, 56
Ta'ānith 9 ^a	349		